

AN
EPI TOM Y
OF
English HISTORY,
WHEREIN
ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT
Is Display'd to the Life,
In the illegal Transactions of the late Times
under the Tyrannick Usurpation of
OLIVER CROMWELL;

BEING
A Paralell to the Four years Reign of the late

KING JAMES,

Whose Government was

Popery, Slavery,

AND

Arbitrary Power,

But now happily delivered by the instru-
mental means of

King William & Queen Mary.

Illustrated with Copper Plates.

By **THO. MAT** Esq; a late Member
of Parliament.

The Third Edition.

Printed for **N. Boddington** at the Golden Ball
in *Duck lane*, 1690.

The Common wealth ruling with a standing Army



The Fruits of a Common wealth.

Laws Customs
 Statutes
 Episcopacy
 Monarchy
 Church Land
 Nobility
 House of peers
 Magna Charta
 prerogative
 privileges
 Liberties
 gain

Food for a Common wealth.

Liberty
 Property
 Justice
 Moderation
 Temperance
 Industry
 Frugality
 Cleanliness
 Order
 Peace
 Unity
 Concord
 Harmony
 Love
 Charity
 Mercy
 Forgiveness
 Patience
 Humility
 Meekness
 Gentleness
 Mildness
 Sweetness
 Kindness
 Goodness
 Beauty
 Health
 Wealth
 Honor
 Power
 Glory
 Fame
 Reputation
 Credit
 Esteem
 Respect
 Veneration
 Reverence
 Honor
 Dignity
 Grandeur
 Majesty
 Splendor
 Brilliance
 Radiance
 Luster
 Shine
 Glow
 Sparkle
 Glisten
 Shimmer
 Glitter
 Twinkle
 Flash
 Spark
 Flame
 Fire
 Heat
 Warmth
 Comfort
 Ease
 Relaxation
 Leisure
 Amusement
 Entertainment
 Pleasure
 Joy
 Happiness
 Contentment
 Satisfaction
 Fulfillment
 Achievement
 Success
 Prosperity
 Wealth
 Riches
 Abundance
 Plentifulness
 Overflowingness
 Generosity
 Liberality
 Magnificence
 Grandeur
 Majesty
 Splendor
 Brilliance
 Radiance
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 Contentment
 Satisfaction
 Fulfillment
 Achievement
 Success
 Prosperity
 Wealth
 Riches
 Abundance
 Plentifulness
 Overflowingness
 Generosity
 Liberality
 Magnificence



EPITOME

HISTORY

OF THE

ARBITRARY GOVERNMENT
IN THE ILLUSTRATION OF THE LATE JAMES
OLIVER CROMWELL

BY

A PARALLEL TO THE FOUR YEARS REIGN OF THE LATE

KING JAMES

SECOND

AND

OF THE

REIGN OF THE LATE

OLIVER CROMWELL

BY THE HON. M^{RS} AT. ELLIOTT, a late Member
of Parliament.

Printed by J. DODD, at the Golden Ball

St. Dunstons, 1830.

THE INTRODUCTION.

OF late, since the Spirit of Discontent hath possessed a great part of this Nation; nothing more hath been discoursed of and feared, next to that of the Alteration of the Protestant Religion, than Arbitrary Government; which I suppose is the Rule of any Person or Persons, by their own Will and Authority, without being tyed to the Rules, Methods, and Directions of the Laws of the Land, and a Converting of this most glorious Monarchy, into Tyranny. The fear and Jealousie of this Government, hath been exceedingly, of late, fomented, among the discontented People, by the sly Arts of those, who are, and ever will be, Enemies to the Religion, Peace, and Tranquillity of this Nation; and no doubt, but the Machivillian Jesuite, and the Zealous Papist, have been the cause of all the imbroils of England, hoping by that Gate, to bring in their own Religion, and Arbitrary Government: The thing so much feared by the People of England. And truly in this Case they are not to be blamed. Religion and Liberty, being the two chiefest, and most valuable Jewels, belonging to the Crown of Life. And when they cast abroad their Eyes, and behold the Arbitrary, Despotical and Tyrannical reign of the Princes of other Countreies, they may well be desirous of Conseruing their own happy Government, in the Monarchy of this Nation; which is so equally divided, betwixt King and People, that the one cannot do injury, or wrong to the other, unless the one become Arbitrary, and the other Rebellious.

The Constitution of the Government of England is so sound, as it is not to be shaken or altered, with every small Occasion, for it must be absolute Tyranny on the one Hand, or absolute Rebellion of the other, that must break it to Pieces, and bring in the so much feared Arbitrary Government. And

The Introduction.

Therefore, it is against the Interest both of King and People, to intrench upon one the other, the one to invade the Prerogative of the King, the other the Priviledges of the People: For so equally hangs the Ballance between them, that as it is the Envy and admiration of all other Nations, so is it the Happiness and strength of our own; for the one side cannot Preponderate or weigh down the other, without breaking the just and equal Constitution of our Government. If therefore the Kings of this happy Nation, should at any time, thorow the Evil advice of their Councillors, go about to invade the peoples Liberties, and to think or hope to bring in Arbitrary Government, it would not be so easie a thing to effect it, since the mutual Bonds and Obligations, between the King and People are already so strong, as it is almost impossible to attain to that end, whilst the three Estates of the Land have a being, and without whom no alteration can be made. The people therefore, need not be in those Fears and Agonies, on every the least Occasion, of the evil Ministrations of some of the chief Officers of State, of their Kings Intentions of bringing in of Arbitrary Government; for no doubt the Kings of England, are as great and Imperial Monarchs, holding their Crowns of God only, and so account themselves, as any other Monarch whatsoever: Nor can we see, how a lawful Monarch can any ways better himself, or become more great, by such unlawful Arbitrariness, who by the Laws of the Land, and the Love of his People, wants neither Power nor Money, the only things a Tyrant can pretend to. It is therefore the Cunning Arts of the Enemies to Englands peace, who so needlessly, seek to bur it into the Ears of the People, that their King intends to bring in Arbitrary Government, upon every Occasion, given by any of his Ministers of State, in the management of those Affairs, they cannot see into the Bottom. But since the greatest Ministers, are Accountable for their mal-Administration to Parliaments, there is, and can be no such Fear, I say of ever attaining that end, so long as Parliaments have a being, and without which our happy Monarchy cannot subsist totally. But many cry out against Arbitrary Government, and know not what it is, nor being sufficiently sensible; of their living under, and being ruled and governed by a legal Monarch:

The Introduction

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Thoſe ſome Faults and Miſcarriages may be found, or appear in his Miniſters; for the King himſelf can do no wrong, ſince he Acts nothing of himſelf, but by Miniſters, who are all Reſponſible for their Actions. Yet the People are not to be blamed, for their abhorrency of Arbitrary or Tyrannick Government, which always attends uſurpation, ſince it is not ſo many years, that they have felt the burthen thereof; and if we look back, into all the Actions, of the moſt Arbitrary and Tyrannick, the lawful Kings of this Nation, we ſhall find the Arbitrary Government, attending uſurpers, in the little time of their uſurpation, to be more horrid and dreadful, and brought on this Nation more Miſery, Blood, and Perſecution, than any of them; nay, all of them together. I cannot think therefore, that any are ſerious, who cry out on the Phanaticks, as endeavouring or deſiring a Common-wealth, for I do think there are none of them, ſo really mad, as to deſire any ſuch thing, that would bring on them the dreaded Arbitrary Government, the ſo-much Fear; ſince they found it by ſo late Experience, to be no remedy to their Evils, and cured their Fears and Jealouſies with a Plaſter of Poiſon. And this alſo, I look upon to be a Stratagem of the ſame Enemies, on the other ſide, to Create a Jealouſie in the Head of the Prince, and his Miniſters, and to make them Conſtrue every Action of the People, tending to that end, which may be, and no doubt is, as far from their thinking, as it is from that of the other, in bringing in of Arbitrary Government. Since the Fears and Jealouſies of either ſide, are alike much heightened, by the inducements of ſeveral ſorts of evil Perſons, and by ſome well meaning People, by being too ſevere in unſomely and bitter Expreſſions, and throwing the Toleration of the many Licentious, and Scandalous Papers, which daily fly abroad, the Author of theſe true Collections, of the Miſeries this Nation ſuffered, under the Arbitrary Government, of Tyrannick uſurpers, Expoſes it to the Abhorrency of the Nation, that they might behold it in a Glaſs; and that the Governours of our Common-wealth, may not run upon the ſame Rocks: Nor the People, into the like Rebellion, in ſeeking to avoid Arbitrary Government, or ſome Shadows of it, bring it upon themſelves totally, to

the subverting the Monarchy and the Fundamental Laws of the Land.

To the intent then, that they may see the difference, between the happy Reign of lawful Kings; and usurping Tyrants, we have collected the illegal Acts, and bloody Persecutions, of those usurpers of Arbitrary Government, the Rump and Oliver, that by the matter of Fact, the People may be convinced and deterred from thinking of Rebelling against their lawful Prince, since 'tis the only way to bring in Arbitrary Government, whose most horrid Picture, is display'd in the following History.

Arbitrary

*Arbitrary Government displayed to the
Life, in the illegal Transactions of the
late Times.*

IF we mount up the Hill of *Time present*, and thence take a view; on either hand lyes *Time past*, and *Time future*, or to come; the latter is continually hidden in a Cloud, and we are not able to take any Prospect of it, unless by Divine or Prophetick illumination, which tho certain, is rare; yet a wise man by looking back on *Time past*, and Comparing the certain Effects resulting from several Causes, may give a shrewd Guess, of what is to come; and thus from Experience he will pronounce, that Fears and Jealousies betwixt a Prince and his people, being wrought to the height, will produce on the one hand *Severity*, on the other *Rebellion*: If the Prince gets the better of the People, after they have run into actual disobedience, it is not to be expected, he should, whilst he Lives, slacken the Reins of his Power, but by keeping them under, extend it to the utmost of the line: If the people thrive in their Rebellion, the certain sequel is *usurpation*, *Tyrannick and Arbitrary Government*, as hath been seen in several Ages, and recounted in several Histories, which we shall not mention; our Design being to confine our Discourse to our own late Affairs, and Transactions; from the first setting up of the *Rump*, in the place of *Monarchy*, to the Restoration of our present *Monarch*, whom God grant long to Reign.

If we look down from this Hill of *Time present*, thro' the Optick of History, on *Time past*, we behold the first Ages as in Landskip only, not in a due Proportion, being much lessened in Relation; the middle A-

ges are more clearly viewed, and lye open to discovery, and are more largely Displayed in History: but again, the more near, or next to the Mountain of *Time present*, are also covered in a certain obscurity, and as it were over-shadowed by the Mount of *Time present*, that Truth is traced with a faint touch, and usually things are not so clearly seen, as at a longer distance. But since every day renders the Prospect more clear, We hope in this our short Relation, of the late Usurpers, and of their Tyrannick and *Arbitrary Government*, to shew to the People a most lucid Picture of that dreaded Monster, which they do, and may most justly fear, *Arbitrary Government*.

Fears and Jealousies somented and heightened, we may say begot it, and Rebellion brought it forth, for it was the soul Issue of our bloody Civil Wars. It is not my task to write the Transactions, between the late King and his Parliaments, nor to draw forth a Scheme of that most unnatural War, which robb'd England of it's Peace, and devoured so many brave and valiant Subjects; this hath been sufficiently and fully, by several Pens, already performed. But I shall begin the rise of my Historical Collections, from the time of the Exclusion of the greater part of the Members of the house of Commons, called the long Parliament, and when the Tail or *Rump*, as they are called, of the said Commons, against all Law and Right usurped, the Regal Authority of the Nation, and plaing it upon themselves, Exercised a *Tyrannick*, and *Arbitrary Government*, with any shadow of legal Authority; for altho it is not to be doubted, that the bloody War, commenced by the long Parliament, against their sovereign Lord and King, was illegal and unjust, yet I say, by that Bill, passed by his late Majesty, together with the Bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford, on the 8th. of May, 1647. for the continuance of that Parliament, and that it should not be Prorogued or Adjourned, but by act of Parliament, and on the 10th. of the same Month had the Royal assent, gave them I say
some

for the Colour or shadow of Authority, and extremely involved the Kings affairs. The advisers to the passing of this Act are not certainly known, some attribute it to the Lord Say, others to the designing Marquess Hamilton, who brag'd of it in Scotland, as his Act; but whoever they were, it prov'd most pernicious to the King, and seem'd to Authorise the Rebellion by his own Act.

But before we enter upon the Actions of these Usurpers, we shall only make mention of some preliminary Acts, of illegal Arbitrariness, of this Parliament, before their Votes of Non-Addresses to the King, and their excluding their fellow Members; and of their growing up to that perfection of Evil, in taking upon them the Administration of the Government, and of that unparallel'd Murder of a great Monarch, their sovereign Lord and King. The first was, under the Notion of maintaining the Protestant Religion, their entering into a solemn Protestation or Association among themselves, and also imposing it on the Consciences of all others, who should bear any Office either in Church or State. Secondly, their raising men, arming them, and forming an Army, and so running on into actual Rebellion, against their Head, and continuing that most Bloody War with so much Heat and Animosity, hearkning to no Treaties, &c. Next, their flinging the Bishops out of the House, and imprisoning twelve of them for asserting their Right only, by a Protestation. And which was absolutely against the Priviledges granted to them by *Magna Charta*, and a lopping off one of the Estates of the Realm: Then their putting a difference between the Kings person, and his politick Capacity, raising War against him in his own Name, for as yet the Keepers of the Liberties of England were not thought of, but the Style ran in the name of the King and Parliament, making the King to fight against himself, and to War with himself. Next their illegal imprisoning their fellow Subjects, and disseizing many of their free Holds, for their Loyalty to their Prince, and

for not sending them Money to carry on their Rebellion, and also putting to Death the *Hothams*, all contrary to *Magna Charta*, and the Liberty of the subject, and full of *Arbitrariness*. Next their endeavouring to persuade the People, that the Sovereignty lay wholly and radically in them, and so effectually in the *Parliament*, or House of *Commons*, for they now began to be esteemed only the *Parliament*. Then by their Endeavouring to take the power of the Sword out of their Sovereigns hand, and to put it into their own, thereby to make him a King of Clouts, or in Show, or a meer Duke of *Vinica*. Then their own Declaration, printed and published, shewed how well *Arbitrariness* thrived, when they owned, That their Votes were not to be questioned, either by King or People: That no Precedents could bound their proceedings: That the Sovereign Power resides in the two Houses: That the King hath no negative Voice: That a levying War against the persons Commands of the King, tho he were present, is not a levying War against the King, but that a levying War against his Laws and Authority, is levying War against the King, which was levying War against them: That Treason could not be committed against the person of the King, otherwise then he was intrusted: That they had power to judge of his Actions, and whether he discharged his trust or not, and that they were only judges of the Law. Their Arbitrary putting to death of *Tomans* and *Boucher* at *Bristol*, and others at *London*, for endeavouring to shew their Loyalty to their King, and Acting against them, and their illegal Authority. Voting and making a new Seal, and breaking all the Kings old Seals, Privy Signets, of the Kings bench, Exchequer, Court of Wards, Admiralty, &c. Beheading of several persons by a Court martial, against Law and Equity. Putting Arch-Bishop *Laud* to Death after four years Imprisonment. Their taking the *Scotch* solemn League and Covenant, for the Extermination of *Episcopacy*, and the alteration of Religion, established by Law, contrary to Law, and according

ing to their own illegal and Arbitrary proceedings. With many more Acts of the same nature, which plainly declared to all the World, how far they had deviated from their first more plausible Pretences. But all this while I say, by the Kings great Concession, in yielding to pass that Act, which wrought him so much Mischief, they seemed to have a shadow of Power, from the King: and acted as an House, tho contrary to the King, the Laws of the Land, the Liberty of the Subject, and against Equity, Conscience, and Religion.

But now, after the King had been delivered up to them from the Scots, and that they had subdued all his Forces and Garrisons, *Ragland Castle in Wales*, being the last that held out for his Majesty, then they shewed their power more manifestly, and that their Intentions were to usurp the Regal Authority altogether, having thus far tasted the sweetness of it, and thrived in their Rebellion. On the 4th. of *June 1647.* a Party of Horse, under Cornet *Joyce*, seized the King at *Holdenby*, where he was under restraint by the Parliaments order, and Carried him away to the Army, and thence by them brought to *Hampton Court*, about the middle of *August*; where both the Parliament and Army make to him their several unjust Proposals, after the insolent manner of Victors, which the King could in no ways grant, being contrary to his Conscience, his Crown and Dignity. At the same time the Independant Officers of the Army, kept their chief Cabals at *Putney*, where it was proposed among them: That it was not safe for them, nor the Kingdom, to grant any Power to the King: That it was not for them to set up a Power, which God had determined to pull down: That the power of Kings was grown a burthen to the Nation, and that the reason of all their Distractions in their Councils, was from their Compliance to save that man of Blood, and to uphold the Tyranny, which God by their many Successes, had declared against. Where also Major General *Harrison* made a speech pressing them to the taking off the King; Who having notice of these wicked

ed Agitators Actions, makes his escape from Hampton Court, leaving a Letter behind him, intending to get over to the *Isle of Jersey*, but being in the *Isle of Wight*, he put himself under the Protection of Colonel *Hammond* a Parliament man, and Governour there; who sending notice thereof to the Parliament, they Vote, That he should be continued in the Castle of *Combe*: That no Malignants shall stay in the *Island*: That no Delinquent or Forreigner should be permitted to come to him without the Parliaments leave: That five Thousand pounds should be advanced for his Accommodation, and That they would consider who should attend his Person.

In the meantime the Independent party of the Army cause a Mutiny, which tho' quelled by the Industry of *Cromwel* and his Son-in-Law *Ivaton*; yet it caused them to alter their Councils, and to joyn with them against the Parliament, and all accommodation whatsoever with the King. The King sends a Letter to the Parliament from the *Isle of Wight*, dated November, 18. 1642. superscribed to the Speaker of the House of Lords, to be communicated to the House of Commons. In which he granted for Peace-sake, the settling of *Prerogative* for three years: And the Militia in the hands of the Parliament during his Reign, with a Proviso by *Parent*, that then it should return again to his Successors; And also that they should have the Choice of his Privy Councillors, and desired earnestly to have with them a personal treaty in *London*. After a long debate upon this Letter, the Commissioners of *Scotland* also pressing them to comply with the Kings just desires, on the 26th. of November they concluded, That four Previous Acts should be drawn up, and sent to the King, to which if he would sign, they Voted, That they then would admit of a personal Treaty with him. These unreasonable Proposals, drawn into form of Acts, were these: First, an Act for raising, settling, and maintaining Forces by Sea and Land, &c. In which they fully and wholly divested the King of the Militia, his Heirs and Successors for ever, and gave an unlimited Power

power to the two Houses, to raise what Forces they please, for Land or Sea; and of what persons they please, and what Money they please to maintain them. The second was, that all Declarations, Oaths, Proclamations against the Parliament, might be recalled, or against all or any that adhered to them. The third, an Act that those Peers, that were made after the great Seal was carried away from the Parliament, might be made incapable of sitting in the house of Peers: And lastly, That Power may be given to the two Houses to adjourn themselves as they think fit. By these you may easily perceive, to what height they were come of all unreasonableness. These were presented to the King at *Carisbrook Castle* in the Isle of *Wight*, on the 24th. of *December* 1647: by the *Earl of Denby*, the *Lord Mountague*, *Liste*, *Goodwin*, *Bunkley*, and *Kemp*, Commissioners from both Houses of Parliament. The King it may well be thought, having no desire to dethrone himself, and enslave his Subjects, refused the Bills, and desired to Treat personally, sending them his reasons in Writing: Whereupon *Sr. Tho. Wroth*, moves the House, That the King, who had Acted like a Mad-man, should be secured in some inland Castle, with sure Guards: That Articles of Impeachment should be drawn up against him: That he should be wholly lay'd by, and that they would think of some other Government, no matter what, so it were not by Kings or Devils. Then *Ireton* gravely, and with his Protesting he spake the Sence of many thousand Godly men, who had ventured their Lives with him in the Army, said: That the King in denying those Bills, had deny'd his safety and protection to the People, and that therefore they might justly, and lawfully deny to yield him any further Obedience, and that it was fit they should settle the Kingdom without him. Then *Cromwell* at last, after a long debate, with an Hypocritical Face, stood up, telling them, of the Valour, Courage, Resolution, and readiness of the Army, to stand by them, and to live and Dye with them, and that therefore, now the Parliament should by their own Power, Rule and Govern

Govern the Kingdom, and not expect safety any longer, or any help from an Obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened, and therefore no more to be trusted, for that his future Reign, would become more insupportable, and fuller of Revenge than Justice. That also those men, who had so long defended them, would think themselves betray'd by them, to the Malice and Rage of an irreconcilable Enemy, whom they had subdued for their sakes, and that despair might teach them, to seek their safety, by some other means, than adhering to them, who would not stick to themselves; and how destructive that resolution might be to them all, he even trembled to think of, and left them to consider. This concluding Menace, from that terrible Bag-bear, very much overawed the House. Upon this they came to Vote, and the Questions being put, they Voted, No more Addresses or Applications should be made to the King, carrying it in the Affirmative, there being one hundred and forty one Yeas and ninety one Noes. This was also assented to by the Lords and published, Resolved by the Lords and Commons Assembled in Parliament, That no Application or Address be made to the King by any Person whatsoever without the leave of both Houses. Resolved by the Lords and Commons, &c. That the Person or Persons, that shall make breach of this Order, shall incur the penalty of high Treason. Resolved by the Lords and Commons, &c. That they will receive no more any Message from the King; and do injoyn, that no Person whatsoever, do presume to receive or bring any Message from the King to both or either of the Houses of Parliament, or any other Person.

Upon this comes forth a Déclaration from the Army. Among other things they declare, That they are resolved to stand by the Parliament, in these their Votes concerning the King, and in what shall be necessary for the Prosecution thereof, and for the settling and securing of the Parliament and Kingdom, without the King, and against him, or any other that shall pertake with him. The Parliament also after this, put forth a publick

publick Declaration, about the beginning of *February*, 1648. in which were many strange Invectives against the King, and his Government, raking in all the Errors thereof, and remembring things done before his Reign. They also endeavoured to have fixed on him the Murther of his Royal Father King *James*, the Rebellion and Massacre of *Ireland*, and other wicked and horrid Crimes lay'd to his Charge, and almost in every bodies Mouth, so that they were not only Content to take away the Government from their King, and to usurp the Royal dignity, but they went about to defame him, and to Murther his Honour and Innocency, even before they had agreed to take away his Life from his Person, and to make him as odious as they could, in the Eyes of all men; to take off the Odium as much as they could from themselves, for what they now intended to do, *viz.* The murther of their Prince, which began now to be designed by the prevailing Independent Party, who had got the Army on their sides and overawed the rest.

However, they could not carry things so, but that their Intentions began to be seen, altho they had procur'd Letters or Addresses of thanks, from several Counties, by their Agents, for their Votes against the King; yet for the most part the peoples Eyes being now every day more and more opened, began to see what a Brat they had nourished up, under the notion of Liberry, which being grown up to it's height, proved that most dreadful *Arbitrary*, they so much had feared; insomuch, that from Grumbling and Murmuring, the City began to stir, and in several other places, as in *Kent*, and in *Wales*, under *Lauborn*, *Poyer*, and *Powell*; upon this the Committee of *Darby House* was Impowred anew, for the suppressing of Tumults and Insurrections. The Insurrections were soon quelled, tho not without Blood, by the industry of *Cromwel* and *Ivton*, and by the Permission of divine Providence. The *Scots* by their Commissioners, desired to know if they were excepted by the Parliaments Votes of Non-Addresses to the King, which Message caused great debates, and being yet fearful

Arbitrary Government

fearful of disoblising them, at last it was permitted
 them to make Addresses to the King : which was not well
 taken by the Independent Faction in the Army. But
 the King was now more straitly secured, by Collonel
Hammond, and he found not that Favour from him he
 had hoped for, being the Brother of one of his beloved
 Chaplains Doctor *Hammond* : His Servants were re-
 moved from him, and he restrained within the Castle
 walls, which begot a Pity and Commiseration of his
 case, in the breast of several Loyal Subjects within the
 Island, and especially Captain *Burleigh*, who had for-
 merly serv'd him in the Army, and who now made an
 attempt to rescue the King out of *Hammond's* hands ;
 but miscarrying, he was taken, and on the 10th. of Fe-
 bruary put to death at *Winchester*, being tryed for High
 Treason by Serjeant *Wild*. Upon this his Majesty put
 forth his Declaration, which begot great Compassion in
 the Hearts of all his Loyal Subjects throughout the King-
 dom. But yet they were not able to help him, the
 Power being out of their Hands. And he suffered a ve-
 ry close Confinement, being sequester'd from the Con-
 verse of men, which made him apply himself to a more
 close and blessed Converse with God, as may be seen
 by his Excellent meditations, in his Book called
Εὐχαριστικὴ Βασιλική, or the *Portraiture of his Majesty*, in
 his *Calicitude and Sufferings*, then wrot.

And now the Universities were purged ; for having
 the Sword, they resolv'd to have none of those Gown-
 men to plead Gospel for the Kings Authority, and
 therefore all such should be ejected, that knew not
 how against Conscience to preach and declaim of their
 duty, to which end the Earl of *Pembroke* Chancellor
 of the University of *Oxford*, with others as learned as
 himself, were sent to purge the University, where they
 found forth many learned and honest men, under the
 Name of Ignorant and Scandalous, by which means
 they sent packing all such as were not for their turn.
 On the 20th. the Duke of *York* made his escape
 from *St. James's*, in woman apparel, and landed safe at

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Dort in Holland; and about the same time, several Petitions came to the Parliament, and especially one from the County of *Essex*, which supplicate, That the Army might be paid off and Disbanded, and the King admitted to a personal Treaty: *Surry* and the City of *London* followed with the like, and the Affections of the People began to appear, and were ready to fly to Arms. The *Kentish* men being up ten Thousand strong were routed by General *Fairfax*, the Earl of *Norwich* who headed them, with five hundred men crossed over the *Thames* into *Essex*, and *Sr. Charles Lucas* joyning him with 200 thousand men, they possessed themselves of *Cholchester*, which became the seat of War and endured a famous Siege. Also at the same time a part of the Navy revolted to the Prince, who having attempted to help his Father, in vain, was forced to retire into *Holland*, with his Fleet. Then the Earl of *Holland*, the Earl of *Peterborough* and others, Head a fresh Insurrection at *Kingston upon Thames*, where they were routed, the Earl of *Holland* taken, and the Lord *Francis Villars* the Duke of *Buckingham's* Brother slain.

Affairs standing in this Posture, the *Scots* are much displeased, tho they had many fair Offers made them by the Parliament, Concerning the Payment of money yet due to them; and on the 24th day of *July* they passed an Ordinance, to establish the *Presbyterian* Government in *England* and *Ireland*, under Classical, Provincial, and Parochial Assemblies, to please them; yet all would not do, for they Voted in *Scotland*, a War with *England*, and published a Declaration, wherein they propose: That the King may come to *London*, or to some of his Houses near, with safety: That those who had Carried him away might make Satisfaction, or be punished for it: That the Army under the Lord *Fairfax* might be disbanded: That *Presbytery* be sealed and *Scotaries* punished: That all members of the House might be restored. Upon this *Berwick* was surprised, Forces came out of *Ireland*, and many rise in the North for the King. *Carlisle* is seized, and their Forces increased.

sed under Sr. *Marmaduke Langdale*, Sr. *Thomas Glenham*, Sr. *Philip Musgrave*, and others, to the number of three Thousand Horse and foot. Sr. *Marmaduke Langdale* is made their General: And on the 13th, of July, the Scots enter with an Army into England, under Duke *Hamilton*, with whom *Langdale* joyns, and beats *Lambert* at *Appleby*: Several places declared for the King, and all things seemed in an hopeful way, when *Cromwell* having quieted *Wales*, marches with his Army to *Preston* in *Lancashire*, to give a stop to *Hamilton*, who was about twenty Thousand strong, with the *English*; *Lambert* joyns with *Cromwell*, and make up a Body of about twelve Thousand; on the 17th. of August both Armies face one another, and the battel being begun on the *English* side, after two hours dispute, the Scots gave ground, and were most fiercely pursued by the *English*, and Totally routed, multitudes of them being taken, but *Hamilton* escaped to *Nantwich*, with three Thousand horse, where the Countrey being up in Armes seized upon most of them, and at last *Hamilton* himself was taken at *Uxeter*, by the Lord *Gray of Groby*; the Scots *Ensigns*, *Cornets*, and *Colours*, then taken, were afterwards hung up in *Westminster Hall*. Sr. *Marmaduke Langdale* was also taken, and *Cromwell* improving his Victory, marches towards *Doncaster*, who was coming with a reserve of six Thousand Scots, but upon *Hamilton's* overthrow, had order to return into *Scotland*, which they did, but the *Anti-Hamiltonian* party in *Scotland*, under *Argile*, which were the stricter sort of *Presbyters*, invited *Cromwell* into *Scotland*, which he laying hold on, to smooth his way he put forth a Declaration, severely prohibiting any Souldier, under pain of Death, to take either Money, Horses, Goods, Victuals, or any other thing, or any ways to abuse the People. He put such a terror among the Scots, that they all presently submitted, and agreed to disband their Armies, and to render up to him *Berwick*, and *Carlisle*, which were in their Hands: That Parliament should be called in *Scotland*, for the settling Religion, and composing their differences,

rences, and also that none that had been in the last Engagements against *England*, should be chosen of this new Parliament, or into their general Assembly. Thus having settled *Scotland* to his mind, he returns into *England*. Upon his Victory against *Hamilton*, *Colchester* being driven to the utmost extremity, was surrendered, and the two valiant Gentlemen contrary to Faith given, *St. Charles Lucas*, and *St. George Lisle*, shot to Death, and the Earl of *Norwich*, Lord *Capel*, and others sent Prisoners to *London*. While these things were in doing, there had been some Attempts made towards the private murdering of the King, which was made known to the Parliament, who took some Examinations thereupon; but nothing to any purpose done in it, he being now look'd upon as a Tyrant, and suffered openly to be so called daily, with many other most opprobrious Speeches, both against his person and Government, which the Parliament took no notice of, but had made an Order in *April*, before: That any three of their Committee-men at *Darby House*, should have Power to Imprison and sequester, all such as shall actually adhere to any, that shall raise or endeavour to raise, any Tumults or Insurrections, or shall so much as speak or publish any thing reproachful of the Parliament or their proceedings; so that you see they had tyed up mens Tongues, from speaking against themselves, without the least restraint of reviling their King, and, for every light Word, a free born Subject of *England*, was made an offender, and lyable to be ruined, at the Pleasure of three Arbitrary men of their Committee, absolutely against that known Maxim of our Law, *Nemo imprisonetur aut diffidatur nisi per legale iudicium parium suorum*. No man shall be imprisoned, or diseised of his Property, but by the lawful judgment of his Peers; that is, by a jury of twelve men. But what signified *Magna Charta*, Petition of Right, the Ancient Laws of the Land, to these Men, who had trampled the Imperial Crown under their feet, and usurp'd more than ever rightful Monarch, or the most Arbitrary of our Kings ever Claim'd? And had raised

raised upon the People, for the maintainance of this unnatural War; and towards the enslaving of themselves, about three Millions of pounds sterling *Per annum*, which was six times more than ever the most rapacious of our Kings had raised on the People, besides the vast Incomes of the Kings revenue, Sequestrations, and Compositions.

About the third of *August*, the Prince (now our Sovereign) sent Letters to the City, Expressing his good affection to Peace, and to the whole City, and his Endeavours to vindicate his fathers Liberty and just Prerogative, and Rights; and to restore to the People their Laws, Liberties, and Property, to free them from Bondage, and to ease them of the Burthen of Excise, and Taxes, to settle Religion, and to reduce all things into their proper Channel. This Letter was accompanied with others, and a Declaration to the same purpose, all which were Communicated to the Parliament. But there, in Requital, it was vehemently urged by some, That the Prince might be declared a Traitor and a Rebel; but others stood up and gave several Reasons (too long here to rehearse) to the Contrary; and so it passed over at this time. On the 7th. of *August* an ordinance passed, for erecting a new Militia in every County, and particularly for the County of *Wilts*, Commissioners being named, who had power to raise what men they pleased, to Arm them, and to fine defaulters ten pound a Man, and twenty dayes Imprisonment, and to levy four hundred pound a Week, upon that one County, besides the ordinary Taxes, and free Quarter. O Brave Liberty and Freedom!

Whilst the Army were employed in reducing the Scots, and Royal party, Petitions were continually sent from several Counties, to the Parliament, all tending to the same effect, the disbanding the Army, easing the People of their Burthens, and a personal Treaty with the King. The City of *London* Petitions also for the same, and to have their imprisoned Citizens released, which were chiefly Aldermen *Langham* and *Blunt*, and their

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 Foundation of all Parliaments, and how well they im-
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Arbitrary Government

and they bestowed the Sequestration of the said Lands, tho' dead, on another, with a *Prouise*, that should not be drawn into Example.

Cromwell gives the Parliament, by a Letter to their Speaker, an account of his Victories, with Admonitions to them, not to hate God's people, who were as the Apple of his Eye, and for whom Kings were to be re-proved; That they should fulfil the end of their Magistracy, that all that would live quietly and Peaceably might have Countenance from them, and that they who were implacable, might be speedily destroyed out of the Land. And to prepare the way for their Destruction, they ordered: That an Ordinance be Pased, and brought into the House of Commons, to try all such by Martial Law, in the City of London, as shall be found to Plot, Design, or Contrive anything, to endanger the Parliament or City: Here again; you may see all the Common Laws of the Land laid aside, and Martial Law made use of, in the Head City of the Land: Which was then no Garrison, and by order of these Parliamentarians, and Asser-tors of the peoples Liberties, Rights, and Priviledges.

But however, the Army being at a distance from the City, subduing the Kings Friends, and the Parliaments Poes, the Independant Party in the House of Commons, were not so prevalent, but that the other Party took Courage; and appearing, began to come more to themselves, encouraged by several Petitions out of the Countrey, for a Treaty with the King, upon which they became inclinable, and began to set themselves to that Pious work, tho' hindered all that could be, by the Glamours, Speeches, and Behaviour of the Independants, And thereupon the Earl of Middlesex, Sir John Hippisley, and Mr. Bulkeley, were sent to the King, to let him know their Resolutions; who returned, related the Kings ready Compliance thereto, as a thing he much desired; upon which they Vote, That the *Votes of Non-Address* should be repealed; That the King might send for such Persons, as were necessary for him in the Treaty; That he should be in a State of Freedom; That five Lords and ten Comm-

ners, be chosen Commissioners to Treat with the King at Newport in the Isle of Wight. These Votes were sent to the King, and Commissioners chosen; for the Lords, the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, Middlesex, and the Lord Say: for the Commons were, Lord Wainman, Mr. Peirpoint, Sr. Henry Vain the younger, Sr. Harbottle Grimston, Sr. Jo. Potts, Mr. Brown, Mr. Crew, Mr. Bulke, Mr. Hollis, and Mr. Glyn. Their Propositions were not much easier than their former, to which the King gave very Satisfactory Answers, conceding to many things, for Peace sake, against his Prerogative; the greatest Difficulty being the business of *Episcopacy*, which the King was unwilling should be wholly abolished. And now it was very likely, that the King and Parliament had agreed, and a full peace had ensued, but in the mean time many Officers of the Army held their *Cabals* at Windsor, where they were Contriving the Destruction of the King, and the Dissolution of the Parliament; which *Cabals* they also continued at London, and other places, under the name of Agitators in behalf of the Army. These were framing a Government among themselves, and drew up a Remonstrance, shewing: That they were the Body of the People of England: That their Interest was the publick Interest of the People: That the People were the only Competent Judges of their own safety: That the supreme Magistrates were the People Armed with supreme Authority, and with the Sword. These persons concluded among themselves, that some should be chosen out of the Army, to represent the whole Body: These not to exercise the Legislative power, but only to draw up the Foundation of a Government; which the people were to consent to, which consent or Agreement of the People, should be above Law: That in the Agreement a day should be set for the Dissolution of the Parliament; and this to be drawn up in a Remonstrance from the Army. This was encouraged by Major general Harrison, who urged, there could be no safety for them nor the Nation, but by the cutting off the Kings Head, and the tho-

rowly

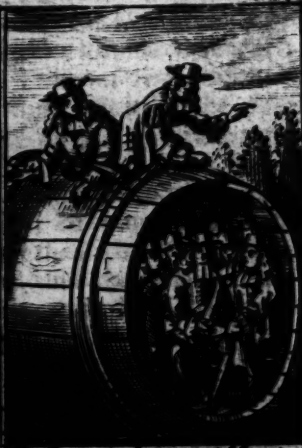
rowly purging at least, if not the Dissolving the Parliament. Upon this the Army, now wholly at *Cromwell's* Devotion, sends up a Petition to the Commons, for Justice to be done on the King, as a Capital Offender. That the Prince of *Wales* and Duke of *York* be Summon'd by a Day, and if they come not in, to be declared incapable of the Succession and Government, and if they come in, to be proceeded against for Satisfaction: That the Revenues of the Crown be sequestered: That publick Justice might be done against the Actors in the late Wars, against the Parliament: That they may be paid their Arrears, and the Country eased of free Quarters; and lastly, that a Period be put to this Parliament; and care taken for the Electing of future Parliaments, and that no King be admitted for the future.

Upon this the Army, that they might once more get the King into their Clutches, cause their General *Fairfax*, to write a Letter to *Collonel Hammond*, commanding him to deliver up the King to *Collonel Ewer*, who obeying, *Ewer* carries the King out of the Isle of *Wight* to *Hurst Castle*, on the 30th. of *November*: This force gave the Parliament an ill Resentment, and they Vote, That the seizing the Person of the King and carrying him Prisoner to *Hurst Castle*, was without the Advice and Consent of the Houses. The Treaty thus broke off, and both the Lords and Commons Vote, That the King's Concessions was a sufficient Ground for Peace. But the Army came up to *London*, and quarter at *White-Hall*, *St. James's* and the *Mews*, resolving to hinder the Parliaments proceedings with the King, and for that end they seized about forty Members coming to the House, and committed them to Guards, in several places at *Westminster*, and then accused ninety odd Members for invading in the Seats, and required they might be excluded the House. The House of Commons troubled at these Proceedings, Adjourned for three days, and in the meantime the Army go on in making a Model of Government: In which it was agreed, That in *April* following that





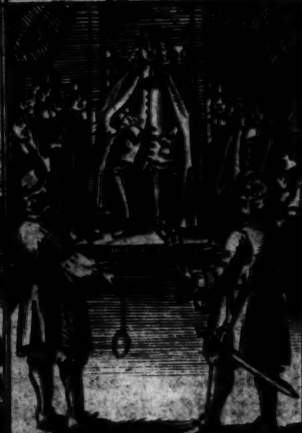
*The Army Entering
the City*



*The Pump & driggs of house of
Commons sitting after the Army
had turn'd 4,000 members out*



*Oliver seeking God while
the King is murdered
by his order*



*Bradshaw the laylor,
and a Hangman keeper
of the Liberty of England*

that *Parliament* should be Dissolved, and that new *Representatives* of the people should be chosen, *Consisting* of three hundred Men, half of which number should be *sufficient* to make a *Law*: and that in the *Intervalls* of *Parliament*, the Nation should be Governed by a *Council of State*. These, with some other the like Stuff, was to be called the *Agreement of the People*.

This force being put upon the House, and new moulded, driving away all that were not for their turn, besides many others for fear absented themselves, the rest (who afterwards obtained the name of *Rump*, or *Rumpers*, being the Relicks of a greater Body) met again, and submitting to the Power of the Army to please them, Vote: *That no Message be received from the King on pain of Treason: That the General should take Care of his Person, and that a Charge of High Treason should be drawn up against him: Having now fully concluded to destroy him.*

Thus have we briefly drawn to your View, the first Lineaments of an *Arbitrary Government*, and *Tyrannical usurpation*, in very short Draughts, shewing however the ways and means, whereby these Men, or *Fans* of *Usurpers*, came by their Power and Authority, overthrowing the very Foundation of our Ancient and most glorious Monarchy, under the Notion of *Liberty*, and setting up a *Tyrannical Democracy*, or rather *Oligarchy*, under the Regiment of a few selected Fellows, who called themselves the *Parliament*, and the *Representatives* of the Nation, and in whom they pretend all Right of Power and Magistracy was to be placed.

The very shadow of all legal Power was now gone, and this unparallel'd force put upon the *Parliament*, in excluding the Major part of their Members, by the *Arbitrary will* of *Oliver Cromwel*, and his *Murderers*, contrary to all Law and Right, took from them the very Name of a *Parliament*. But they care not for that, they shadow their impious Acts, under that venerable Denomination, and having now, as they thought, got into the kingly throne, by the power of the Army, and

the Sword, imagined they should keep it, when all this while, nor having the Command of the Army, but being ridden by the general Officers thereof, who designed as soon as they had done their work, to pay them their Wages by dismissing them, were but as the Cats foot, made use of by the Monkey, for the raking the Chestnut out of the Fire, the benefit of which they intended to take themselves, and this was the Murthuring of their lawful Soverain, whom they had deposed, which was the next main Design driven on by the Independent Army, and their *Dramidaries* this *Junto* of Men.

We have seen these Men grown up into full Strength of *Arbitrariness*, and got into the Throne of their Soveraign, we will now proceed, to Trace them by their Steps, in the Exercise of this their Tyrannical Usurpation; which we shall find to be according to the same unlawful Progress, and to be of the same bloody Complexion; for it is a certain Maxim, *That what Power is got by unlawful means, must be kept by the same unlawful ways*, notwithstanding the specious pretences of Liberty, and setting the Kingdom.

This *Junto* of Men being met, and Voted as we have declared, That no more Address should be made to the King, nor any Message received from him, they take Care in the next place, having got into the Saddle, to keep it; and to make the World believe, they had a right to it, if they could: for now an Ordinance was drawn up, that the Lords and Commons of England do declare. *That by the Fundamental Laws of the Land, it is Treason in the King of England, to levy war against the Parliament.* This preparative in making the King a Transgressor, and in placing the Supream Power in the People, whose Representatives they were, was in Order to their Design of Murthuring the King. This being sent up to the Lords, who denyed to consent to it, the Commons grow very angry, and finding the Lords to be yet an Obstacle to their bloody Intentions, they Vote: *That all Members of Committees, should Act in any Ordinance by them made, without the Lords Concurrence.*

the People having by God, the full power Originally in themselves, and therefore what ever they enact is Law; which passed Nemine Contradicente.

The Army still continuing their Guards upon the House, keeping out any of those Members were not of their Parly, and imprisoning them, they had much ado to make an House, and sometimes it was Noon before they could get forty men together, without which it could not be an House; so very Scrupulous were these grand Hypocrites, to keep up a Face of Authority, in these minute Circumstances, who in the great Fundamentals had broke in two all Bonds, Obligations, Oaths, and Laws.

The Army now the Lords of all, Garrison Black-Fryars, and St. Paul's, turning the house of God into a Stable, and defiling it with Dung, robbing divers Halls (which they call'd horrowing) of several sums of Money, by their Saint-like Prerogative, accounting the rest Egyptians. In the mean time, the secluded Members, still imprisoned, put forth a Declaration against this most horrid violence of the Army, done to their Persons, and to the Fundamental Laws of the Land, the Rights of the People, and the priviledges of Parliament: this was dated 11th. December, 1648. This being complained of to the House, both Lords and Commons put forth a Declaration against it, wherein they declare, That the Declaration put forth, by those Members of the House of Commons, Excluded the House, in which was these Words, viz: That all Acts, Ordinances, Votes, and Proceedings of the House of Commons, made since the 6th. of December or hereafter to be made, during the restraint and forcible Seclusion from the House, and the Continuance of the Armes force upon it, are no way Obligatory, but void and null, to all Intents and Purposes; was false, Scandalous, and Seditious, and tended to destroy the visible, and fundamental Government of the Kingdom. And therefore ordered the printed Paper to be suppressed, and that all who had an hand in it, to be incapable to bear Office, or to have any

trust, place, or Authority in the Kingdom, or to sit as Members of either House of Parliament. Here again you see a most bold stroke of Arbitrary Sway, and what Noses of Wax they made of all priviledges of Parliaments: O most excellent Conservators of the Liberties of the Nation?

The next thing they fell upon was the unvoring of all former Votes of the House which tended to any accommodation with the King, and renewed again their old Vote of Non-Addresses in *Terminis*, and that the Treaty with him in the Isle of *wight* was highly dishonourable, and apparently Destructive to the good of the Kingdom. Thus forty or fifty of this Independent *Junto* undid, what was before done by at least three hundred and forty before.

December 14th. Major General Brown, Sr. William Waller, Sr. John Clotworthy, Major General Massy, Commissary General Copley, were all imprisoned by a Council of War at *White-Hall*, the Members of Parliament, upon which, they put forth also a new Declaration, or Protestation, in the name of themselves, and all the Free-born people of England, against the violent and illegal Proceedings of the General and his Council of War, against the Laws of the Land, and Liberties of the People, the Rights and Priviledges of Parliament; and that it was an higher Usurpation, and exercise of an Arbitrary and unlawful Power, than hath been heretofore pretended, or attempted by this, or any other King, or other Power whatsoever, within this Realm.

About this time came forth a Paper from the Army, called the *Agreement of the People*; being almost word for word, the same which formerly had been presented in the Year 1647. by the Agitators of the Army, and one *Gifford* a *Jesuite*, busie in promoting it, and then condemned by the Commons, as matter Destructive to the beings of Parliaments, and to the Fundamental Government of the Kingdom; and caused General *Fairfax* to condemn one of these Agitators, who promoted it, and caused him to be shot to Death at *Ware*. This was ill timed, and the business not yet Ripe enough,

enough, and was a second time by the Vote of the same House condemned, as Seditious and Contemptuous and Destructive, &c. and several were imprisoned upon it; but now the same being again obtruded upon this *Junto*, they closed with it, and followed it's Dictates, which were briefly: *That the people should agree, or did agree together, to take away the present Government, by King, Lords and Commons, which they were now going about, as the Armies Journey-men, as fast as they could.*

And now *Oliver Cromwell* every day begins to grow more Conspicuous, insomuch as several Lords laying aside their Honour and Greatness begin to Court and fawn upon him, and servilely to attend on him and do him Homage. The next thing the Lords and Commons do, is to Curb the City, whom they suspect; and to hinder them from a free Election of their City Officers; another mark of Arbitrary Power: For which end many Exceptions are made, for those that were to be elected into any Office, that none who had bore Arms for the King, in the first or second War, or that had joyned with the *Scots*, or had subscribed the Engagement 1647. or were aiding in any Tumult, or Insurrection in the City, with other Restrictions, by which they brought all those under, that they believed not fit for their wicked purposes. This was thought yet too short by *Skippon*, who moved it to have also added, That none might bear Office that promoted the Treaty with the King, or endeavoured to have him brought to *London*: Which according to the desire of the Saints was ordered as an Additional Ordinance; So that you now see, the very endeavouring of a Peace and Settlement of the Nation, was become a notorious Crime, and made a person incapable of bearing any Office in the City.

And to make themselves sure one of another, as Oaths, Declarations, and Proteffations could make these Usurpers, they cause their Members to sign a new Protestation, against the Votes for a Treaty in the Isle of

wight, and especially against that Vote which much troubled them: *That his Majesties Answers to the Propositions of both Houses, were a ground for the two Houses to Proceed to a Settlement.* This, tho formerly thought by themselves to tend to Faction, was now readily performed at the Armies request: Four of their imprisoned Members had been released, and now sixteen more were sent for before Ireton, and by him discharged: Telling them it was the General's pleasure, they should be released, provided they attempted nothing against the Actings of the present Parliament and Army. But the Gentlemen would pass no such Engagement, which seeing, he gave order for their release, but with this Menace, That if they made any Disturbance it should be at their peril.

The business they had now in hand, and were Resolved on, *viz: The King's murder,* must be cloaked under a Religious Covering, as if they were about some Pious Work; and therefore they mock God, as well as delude man, and keep a fast at *St. Margarets* *chapel*, where some few Lords and some of the Commons assembled, to whom the Pulpit oratory *Andrew* *Wells* preached: *Moses* leading the Children of *Israel* out of *Egypt*, being the Subject which he applied to the General and the Leaders of the Army, now leading the people out of *Egyptian* Bondage; and after some time, as Ridiculously as profanely hiding himself in the Pulpit, he starts up, and tells them he had it now by Revelation, That the Army was to root out Monarchy, not only in *England*, but in all other Kingdoms, and so should bring all people out of that *Egyptian* Bondage: That that Army, was the Stone cut out of the Mountain, which was to dash all the Powers of the earth to pieces: With other Blasphemous Speeches of the like Nature.

Mr. *Pier* was yet kept a Prisoner at the Kings-head-Inn in the Strand, from whence he wrote a Letter to *Fairfax*, to know by what Authority he was thus kept a Prisoner; he being a Parliament man, and a Free-born Subject of *England*. The General, who was but Chip
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in Porridge, and knew little of what was done by Cromwell and Ireton, sent him word, That he thought he had been released with the rest, and that he would send to know what they had against him. Upon which Mr. Prin puts forth a Declaration, shewing the horrid Injustice of their Proceedings against the Members of Parliament: and against and Contrary to all the Laws of the Land, and the Liberty of the Subject.

The Council of War in the mean time, to humble his Majesty, ordered, *That all State and Ceremony should be forborn to the King, and his Attendants lessen'd.* And now having made way for the most horrid and Bloody design that ever was heard of, the Motion is made in this usurping House, to proceed to the Trial of the King, as a Capital Offender: When the grand Impostor Cromwell stood up, and said; That if any man moved this upon Design, he should think him the greatest Traytor in the World; but since Providence and Necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray to God to bless their Councils. And so on the 28th. of December, 1648. Thomas Scot, brought in the Ordinance for the Tryal of the King, being read and Committed three several times, and all the Commissioners names inserted, Consisting of divers Gentlemen and Soldiers. This Ordinance being pass'd the Junto, they send it up to the Lords House, by the Lord Grey of Grooby, together with their Vote formerly made, *Viz. Resolved, &c. That the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament; do declare, and adjudge, That by the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, it is Treason in the King of England for the time to come, to levy War against the Parliament and Kingdom of England.* The house of Lords debate the matter, and first the Declaratory Vote; against which, the Earls of Manchester and Northumberland, with others, spake; and declared, There was none nor could be any such Fundamental Law in England, whereby the King could be a Traytor, by leaving War against his People; and that thus to declare Treason by an Ordinance, when no law was extant to judge it by, was most unreasonable. Upon

which the Lords cast out this Ordinance and Vote; and adjourned themselves for seven days. This proceeding of the Lords gave them no small trouble, and stirr'd up the wrath of some of the Zealots, who threatned to hang a Pad-lock on the Lords door; and sending up to search their journal Book, they found the Lords had made these two Votes: *That they do not Concur to the said declaratory Vote. And Secondly, That they rejected the Ordinance for the Tryal of the King.* Upon which these men resolving to be rid of the Lords, as well as of King, they Vote, *That they should Act without them, (as well they might, according to their own Law) That all Authority was founded in the People, and that they being the Representatives of the People, all Authority lay in them.* Some of them were for Impeaching the Lords, for favouring the grand Delinquent of the Land, as they called the King. And now to make all sure on their sides, that they may Act legally, On the 4th. of January they Vote; *That the People are, under God, the Original of all just Power. That the Commons of England in Parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing the People, have the Supreme Power of this Nation. That whatsoever is declared or Enacted for Law, by the House of Commons assembled in Parliament, hath the force of Law.* This makes clear Work, and by this our Arbitrary Ufurpers may do what they will, and cut off their Kings Head according to their own Position, legally; what need of Kings, Lords, Laws, Rights, Liberties, Properties, or fundamental Government, when the Arbitrary Consciences of such men, may serve instead of all, and conclude thereby all the People of England, tho they declare against it, and tho opposed by the King or House of Peers? And thus, notwithstanding the rejection of the Lords, these Commons pass their Ordinance, and declaratory Vote by the name of An Act of Parliament of the House of Commons (which was never before heard of) for the Tryal of Charles Stewart, King of England. This being objected to Hugh Peters, that there was no President or Example, for the Tryal of

a King, by a judicial Court, he Prophanely applyed: That there was never any President before the *Virgin Mary*, of a Womans conceiving and bringing forth a Child, without accompanying with a Man, therefore they might walk without President, for this was an Age to make Examples and Presidents.

There was yet one thing that passed these men, which they had not foreseen, which was, That it was a very improper thing, to make use of the Kings Seal, wherein he is styled King of *England*, &c. by the *Grace of God*; to seal a Commission against him for his Tryal. They were now in haste, and could not stay for a new one, which they had not as yet thought on, therefore it was concluded, the Commissioners should proceed upon the Ordinance, without any Commission under Seal, and that every Commissioner should set his own Hand and Seal, to the Instruments of their Proceedings. All things being now in a readiness for the Tryal, The King is taken from *Hurst Castle*, and brought to *Winchester*, thence to *Farnham*, thence to *Winster*, and thence to *St. James*, on the 19th. day of *January*. And they had caused for the greater Solemnity of the Business, their Serjeant Dandy, who was appointed Serjeant at Arms to the Commissioners, for the Tryal of his Majesty, to proclaim it openly in *Westminster-Hall*, with his Mace on Horse back, with six Trumpets and several Officers attending, all bare, That the Commissioners were to sit to morrow, and that all those, who had any thing to say, against *Charles Stewart King of England*, might be heard. This was done in like manner in *Cheapside*, and at the *Royal Exchange*. The same day the House Voted their great Seal to be broken, and ordered a new one to be made.

Upon this Mr. *Prin*, sends to the *Junto a Memento*, of their unpresided Proceedings, Complaining of the force and Violence put upon their fellow Members, warning them from Acting, Consulting, or ordaining any Act or Ordinance without Concurrence of their fellow-Members, being Arbitrary and against Law, and

that the secluded Members, not only declared against such Proceedings, but more especially against this horrid Act of theirs for the Trial of the King, shewing them, That by the common Law, and by the Statute of 25. Ed. 3. and all other Acts concerning Treason it is high Treason for any man to Compass or Contrive the Death of the King, or his eldest Son, tho never Executed: That they were also bound to the Contrary, by their Oath of All giance, from which no Power could absolve them. That they had in above an hundred Declarations and Ordinances, in the name of the Parliament professed; That they never intended the least hurt, injury, or Violence to the Kings person, his Crown, Dignity, or Posterity, with several other things, very pressing and full, as may be seen at large in the printed Paper: but all was in vain, for they were resolved on the Business; tho they could give no kind of colourable Reason for their Actings. This *Memento* was seconded with a Declaration and Protestation, signed the 19th. of January, by the said *Prin* and *Clement Walker*, another of the secluded Members, which ran very much after the same Tenure, and absolutely Protesting against the *Junta's* Actings and Proceedings, declared against the illegal Act of Erecting an high Court of Justice, and usurping a Power against all Law, and without all President, to try, depose, and bring to Capital punishment, the King, and to dis-inherit his Posterity, &c. But at the same time the Officers of the Army, had contrived and ordered two Godly Petitions, to be presented to them, viz: For the abolishing Tythes, and the Repealing the Act for the Banishment of the Jews.

And now *Oliver* and his *Private* Officers, having brought their Work to this readiness, are fasting and praying as hard as they can, no doubt for the Success of it, tho they put another Face on the matter, and said, it was for Direction and Counsel. And now it was, and not before, that this great Usurper of the *Monarchy*, and Liberties of the people, began to lay the great

great Design of stepping into the Sovereignty, and laying the Foundation of his Tyrannical reign, by the Death and Murther of the King; For the private Officers, both from the King, and his Friends, and from the Prince himself, in this exigent, to save the Life of his Father, were not small; but he that now aimed at all, would not be content with a portion of justly acquired greatness, and perhaps he was not sufficiently assured of the Mercy of the Prince he had so highly offended, as that he could be able to forgive all those great Crimes he was guilty of; but that either himself, or his Posterity might remember them to his Prejudice, since all he was able to do towards his Majesties Restauration, was but what in Duty and Conscience he was bound to do. But what ever instigations he had, besides those of the Devil, he was not to be shaken, tho attempted by a Kinsman of his, and of his own Name, who (as reported) was sent either from the Prince himself, then at the *Hague*, or from the States of *Holland*, with Credential Letters, and a Blank sealed with the Kings and Princes Signets, and confirmed by the States, for *Cromwell* to write his own Conditions in, if he would preserve the Life of the King. This found him at his House recluse, with his *Privadaes* at their Prayers, (as given out) but to what God we may easily Imagine. The business being urgent, and the Kings Martyrdom approaching, the Gentleman with some difficulty got to the private Speech of him, to whom he very fully laid open the Hainousness of the Fact he was going about, and what an *Odium* it was about to cast on the *English* Nation abroad, and withal let him understand what Terms he had to offer him, and that he might now make himself, his Family, and Posterity for ever happy and Honourable; otherwise he would bring such an Ignominy on the whole Generation, that no time would be able to delete: *Cromwell* after his canting way,

He was to have been made Earl of *Essex* and Knight of the Garter; his Son of the Bedchamber to the Prince; his Son Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*.

shifted it off from himself, and put the Aft upon the Army and Parliament, declaring he had sought God very much in the Business, but as yet had no return of his Fasting and Prayers about it, therefore he desired till night to consider of it, and promised that he should hear from him before he went to Bed; and accordingly, about Twelve or One of the Clock, the Gentleman expecting his Answer, he sent him word, That he might return, for he and his Officers had been seeking God, and that now it was Resolved, the King must dye: this was but a night or two before the King's Murther.

On the 20th. day of *January*, 1648. being *Saturday*, these bloody Commissioners met, called an high Court of Justice, for the Tryal of the King, who was brought before them, and with much Patience, and sometimes smiling, he heard their long Charge; but denying the Jurisdiction of the Court, refused to plead, requiring them to shew by what Law or Authority, besides their unjust Usurpation, or power of the Sword, he was brought before them who were his Subjects. I shall not trouble the Reader with any farther Relation of this Tryal, it being at large so often printed; nor with the Names of the Judges and Officers of this pretended Court, it being to be had in every Booksellers shop: I intending in these Collections only a brief Narrative of these Usurpers Proceedings, that the World might behold the true Picture of Arbitrary Government, and Tyrannical rule, and not an exact Chronicle or History of those times, tho I would not omit any Material thing that may give Satisfaction or Delight to the Reader. I shall observe that as an ill Omen, the Silver head of the King's Staff dropt off, as the Charge was reading, which the King wondring at and seeing none so Officeous as to take it up, he stoop'd himself and taking it up put it into his Pocket. At his going from the Court looking very austere about him without moving his Hat, he pointed with his Staff to the Sword, and said; I do not fear that. As he went along the Hall some Cry'd out Justice, Justice, and others, God save the King.

On Sunday, Cromwell, Bradshaw, and the rest of the Commissioners kept a Fast at *White-Hall*, where preached *Josuah Sprigg*, whose Text was, *He that sheds Man's blood by Man shall his Blood be shed.* Then *Mr. Foxley*, whose Text was, *Judge not lest you be Judged.* Lastly, *Hugh Peters* whose Text was: *I will Bind their Kings in Chains, and their Nobles in Fetters of Iron.* And thus by their wicked application of the word of God, they endeavoured to justify their most Execrable Murther of their Lawful King. There was by some, who durst to do any thing against these Cruel and powerful men, certain Papers scattered about, in which were several Querries; as, Whether a King of three Kingdoms, could be Condemned by one Kingdom alone, without the Consent or Concurrence of the other Kingdoms? Whether a King, if try'd, ought not to be try'd by his Peers? And whether he could be said to have any such in his Kingdom? Whether if a King were Tryable, he ought not to be tryed in full Parliament, of Lords and Commons? Whether the 8th. part of the Members of the Commons meeting in the House, under the force of the Army, the rest being forcibly restrained from sitting, can by any Pretext of Law or Justice erect a Court for the Tryal of the King? And whether this could be properly called a Court of Justice, without the great Seal of England? Whether that those men who by several Remonstrances, Speeches, and Actions, have publicly declared themselves Enemies to the King, can either in Law or Conscience be his Judges, when it is Exception enough for the basest Felon to any Jury-man, to hinder him from being his Judge? Whether this most illegal and Arbitrary Tryal of the King, by an high Court of Justice, may not prove a most Dangerous inlet, to absolute Tyranny, and bloody Butchery, and every mans Life be at the Arbitrary will of his Enemies, erected into a Court of Conscience without limits or bounds?

But words are nothing, and these paper Arms, tho furnished with the highest Reason, could not move these obdurate Men, who persisted in their bloody Business,
driven

driven on by the secret and forcible Machinations of Oliver and his Cabal. The second day being Monday the 22^d. of January, the Court met again, and the Solicitor Cook urged extreemly for judgment against the Prisoner, unless he would own the Authority of the Court; which the King constantly denyed to do, and offered his reasons against them, but they would not be heard. The 23^d. day, being January 23^d. the King was brought again before the Court, who had in the Painted Chamber the day before, Resolved, That the King should not be suffered to argue the Courts Jurisdiction, and had ordered, That in case he offer'd to dispute the Authority of the Court, that the President should let him know that he ought to rest satisfied with this Answer: That the Commons of England assembled in Parliament, have constituted this Court, whose Power may not, nor should be permitted, to be disputed by him. And that in case he should refuse to answer, or acknowledge the Court, the Lord President should let him know, his Contumacy should be recorded. But the King still persisted in the denial of their Authority, upon which the Clerk reads, *Charles servant King of England*, you are accused in the behalf of the Commons of England, of divers high Crimes and Treasons, which Charge hath been read unto you; the Court now requires you to give your positive and final Answer, by way of Confession or denial of the Charge. But the King told them he could not acknowledge a new Court, set up contrary to the Priviledges of the People, to alter the fundamental Laws of the Land. The 4th. and last day was the 27th. of January, 1648. where appeared about fifty six of those Commissioners, who sate when judgment was given against the King by their President Bradshaw. But the King having moved to be heard, before the Lords and Commons, in the painted Chamber, promising after that to abide the judgement of the Court, they withdrew for half an hour, and returning, they told the King This was but another denial of the Courts jurisdiction, and therefore if he had no more to say, they would proceed to Judgement. Up-

on this, after Bradshaw had made a long Speech, endeavouring to justify their Proceedings on this false point: That the People are the supreme Power, whom the Commons represented, he commanded the Clerk to read the Sentence, which was drawn up in Parchment, in these words. Whereas the Commons of England in Parliament, have appointed them an High Court of Justice, for the trying of Charles Stewart King of England, before whom he had been three times convicted, and the first time a Charge of high Treason, and other Crimes and Misdemeanors was read, in the behalf of the Kingdom of England, &c. Here the Charge at length was read, after which the Clerk proceeds, which Charge being read unto him, as aforesaid, He the said Charles Stewart was required to give his Answer, but he refused to do: For all which Treasons and Crimes, this Court doth adjudge, the said Charles Stewart, as a Tyrant, Traytor, Murtherer, and a publick Enemy, shall be put to Death, by the severing his Head from his Body.

After this wicked Sentence passed by these Miscreants, the King was had away to St. Robert Cotton's, and thence to St. James's, the rude Soldiers in his passage by their blowing Tobacco in his Face, and one spit on it, which he wiped off with his Hand-kerchief without taking notice of it. But when he heard some of them to Cry out Justice, Justice, he said, alas! Poor Souls, for a piece of Money, they will do as much for their Commanders. On the 29th. a Committee met in the painted Chamber, to consider on the time and place of the Kings death, which they ordered to be the next day before his own Palace Gate, which was approved of by the Commissioners, and a Warrant Signed and Sealed, by them directed, to Hacker, Hunts, and Phares, and ordered that Marshal, Nye, Caryl, Salway, and Dill, should attend on his Majesty, and to administer to him spiritual help; but the King would not be troubled with them; and at his desire, Doctor Juxon Bishop of London was admitted to Pray with him in private, in his Chamber, and to administer to him the Sacrament, and his Children

dren permitted to come to see him. But *John Gadowin* was also sent to be an over-looker of their Actions. In the mean time, the *Junto* Pen a Proclamation, which they afterwards caused to be published, making it high Treason for any man, to proclaim or publish *Charles Stewart*, the Son, to be rightful Heir and Successor to the Crown of *England* after his Fathers death, or any other of that Line King of *England*: and that no man under Pain of imprisonment, or other Arbitrary punishment, which they should think fit to inflict, shall Preach, Write, or speak any thing, contrary to the present Proceedings of the supreme Authority of this Nation, the Commons of *England* assembled in Parliament.

The Sunday before the King dyed, it is reported, that some of the chief of the Army and Parliament, tendered the King a paper to sign with promise of Life, and some shew of a King, the Power being wholly invested on themselves, and was Destructive to the Fundamental Laws of the Land, to the Religion established, to the Liberties and Properties of the People; one Proposition whereof was, To continue the Power of the Sword to the Army, and to have as a standing Force, under the same general Officers, forty Thousand Horse and Foot; they to have the Choice of their own Officers among themselves, by a Council of War, and to settle a constant Tax upon the People, by way of a Land rate, for the payment of the said Army, and to be collected and levyed by themselves; and a Court martial to be Erected of an exorbitant Extent and Latitude. But his Majesty, disdainig to read them all, flung them aside, and told them, He should rather become a Sacrifice for his People, and dye by their Hands, than so to betray their Laws, Liberties, Lives, and Estates, the Church and Honour of his Crown, and so to make all Slaves to the Arbitrary Will, and Tyranny of an Army! O Glorious Prince! Oh height of Impudence of armed Arbitrariness!

See yet how they proceed, on the 29th. of January, the

the Junto Vote, That it be enacted by this present Parliament, and by the Authority of the same, That in all Courts of Law, Justice, Equity, and in all Writs, Grants, Patents, Commissions, Indictments, Informations, Suits, Returns of Writs, Fines, Recoveries, Exemplifications, Recognizances, Processes, and Proceedings at Law, &c. within the Kingdom of England and Ireland and Dominion of Wales, &c. Instead of the Name, Style, or Title of King heretofore used, should thenceforward be used, and no other than the Name, Style, or Title, *Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, Authoritate Parliamenti*; The keepers of the Liberty of England by Authority of Parliament; and the date of the Year of our Lord, and no other; and instead of *Juratores pro Domino Rege*, shall be used *Juratores pro republica*: and so, *Contra pacem dignitatem & Coronam nostram*, should be turned into *Contra pacem publicam*. All judges, Justices, Ministers, and Officers to take Notice thereof, and that whatever should be done Contrary to this Act hence forward, should be declared null, and void in Law, the Death of the King, or any usage, Law, Custom &c. to the Contrary.

The King after his Sentence, was lodg'd in *White-Hall*, and the little time they gave him to prepare himself, he was disturb'd with the noise of his rude Guards, filling all the Rooms with the smoak of their Tobacco, a thing extremely offensive to him, and they Rung in his Ears the clinking of Pots, and such like Noises; and not only so, but he lay so near the place where he was to Dye, that he could hear every stroke of the Hammers of those Workmen, that were erecting the Scaffold, and working all night: all which Barbarity was to mortifie him, but that would not bring him to their Bent: On Munday he was removed to *St. James's*, whence he came the next day on Foot thorow the Park, to suffer his Martyrdom.

And now on the 30th. of January, 1648. was Acted the most unheard of Tragedy, that ever was Committed, and not to be parallel'd in History, in any Countrey. A King convented, and Tryed, openly in a Court of un-
lawful

lawful Judicator, as a Capital Criminal, by the meanest of his Subjects, under pretence of Law, and then publicly Executed on a Scaffold in the face of the Sun and the People, before his own Palace; by the hand of the common Hangman (as it hath since appeared) is so strange a thing, that it will be the Admiration of succeeding Ages, as well as it hath been of our own, and I think, a most notable Display of *Arbitrary usurpation*: For tho we have had some of our Kings murdered in our Land, yet there was some modesty shewed in their Assassination, in that it was done Privately, and Acted by great Persons laying claim to, or Ambitioning the Crown; nay, they were so Cautious, as in the Murthers of *Edward the second*, and *Richard the second*, First to depose them, and to take away their Crowns, or making them to resign them by their own Acts, becoming thereby private men, accounting them else Sacred to be murdered; but thus I say, to be publicly put to Death, under the Colour of Law and Justice, and to justify such a bloody Perpetration to the World as a legal Act, being so palpable against all Laws both Divine and Humane, was a thing never to be found in any Age, or in any story. I shall say no more of it, his Majesties Speech and all the fatal Transactions of that Tragedy, being Printed at large; only I shall take notice, that this Royal Martyr, with much Constancy, Courage, and Resolution laid his Head on the Block, and suffered under the Ax, in refusing to acknowledge the Authority of these bloody Usurpers to be legal, and because he would not betray the Liberties, Lives, and Properties of his people to an unjust and usurping Tyrannical Government.

Even whilst he was on the Scaffold, he was pitted by some of his Persecutors, the Officers of the Army, which *Cromwell* perceiving, he begun to play with them his usual juggling Tricks, and made them believe that he would consult with them, concerning the saving of the Kings Life; Seeming to pity him himself, and blaming him for being Obstinate, in not adhering to their Propositions, feigning

a Reluctancy for his Death, and therefore told them, He should be very glad if it might be effected with the safety of the Kingdom; tho what was done, was by the Authority of the Parliament, yet he feared the *Odium* might be cast on them; but says he, before we proceed in this weighty Matter, let us seek God; to which they agreed, and *Oliver* began a long-winded Prayer, which lasted so long, till News was brought them, that the King was Executed, which several not suspecting, were surprized and amazed, but *Cromwell* holding up his Hands told them, he now saw clearly, that it was not the will of God that the King should live, and therefore he was afraid they had done ill to tempt God to desire it.

This was the end of his Majesty *Charles the First*, and now all the world believed, as most legally they might, that this *Parliament* was dissolved of Course, by the Death of the King; by what Authority now can they pretend to sit and Act? Even by the same unjust Power of the Sword, whereby they had committed so many illegal Acts, contrary to the Fundamental Laws of the Land; as now in continuing themselves a *Parliament*, was against the most ancient Constitutions of *Parliaments*. But they lay hold of the *Act*, of 17. *Car. 1.* for the Continuance of this *Parliament*: In which these words Were: And be it declared and Enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present *Parliament* assembled, and by the Authority of the same, that this present *Parliament* now assembled, shall not be dissolved, unless by *Act* of *Parliament*, to be passed for that Purpose. Therefore they declared, and believe, that they are still a *Parliament*; and are not Dissolved by the Kings Death, because not dissolved by an *Act* of *Parliament*. But it was answered, that it was, and ever hath been, the undoubted Prerogative of the King, to Call and Dissolve *Parliaments*, and that an *Act* for their Perpetuation, was a taking away one of the chiefest Flowers in the imperial Crown of England, which the King could not grant, and give away, tho with consent of both Houses. But this *Act* was palpably against the

the King's inclination, being as it were forced to it by some Heady, violent, and turbulent Men. But that a Perpetuation or Extention of it beyond the Kings Death, was never then thought of, is most plain by the Preamble of the said Act, where it is expressed, That by reason of great Sums of Money, of necessity to be advanced, for the speedy relief of his Majesties Army and People, in the northern parts of the Realm, and that Credit might be had for the raising such Monies, and to take away the Fears and Jealousies of any that should lend such Monies upon their Credit, that this Parliament should not be Prorogued or Dissolved, before Justice be done on Delinquents, and publick Grievances redressed, it was Enacted, &c: *That they should not be Dissolved, but by an Act of Parliament*; so that by the very end and Scope of this Act, there could not be thought to be any Perpetuation of this Parliament: or that they should not be Dissolved by the Kings death: For else, certainly they would have inserted the like special Clause, as, *That this Parliament shall not be Dissolved by his Majesties death, but only by Act of Parliament.* But that the Parliament was Dissolved *ipso facto*, by the Kings death, being called by his Writ, to confer with him as his Parliament, *Ad res negotio*, or about urgent Affairs, was Resolved, 1 Hen. 4. Rot. Parl. n. 14. 14. Hen. 4. Cook, 4th. Institat. p. 46. &c. For it is not natural to suppose, and impossible, That the Lords and Commons should be a Parliament, and make Acts and Laws without the King, as for a Body to move and Act without an Head; and therefore, had there been any such thing intended to have been Enacted, it was void, because impossible; for the Kings Royal assent could not be had after his Death, and there is no Clause in the Act that obliges his Successor to Consent, which clearly shews they never had any such intention, at the making of this Act. And therefore on the death of the King all Commissions both of the Judges and others cease, and all Proceedings determined, tho the King is said to sit in the Court of the Kings Bench in his politrick Capacity, which

which indeed never dyes so as to cause an *Interregnum*, but other wayes as to the Continuance of Commissions, Writs &c. which must be renewed. Consider also, that if these men after the Death of the King, could be a Parliament, they must be so either by the Common Law and Custom of Parliaments, which is clearly against them, or by this Statute which as little Countenances them, for they would then be another thing, distinct from the Parliament which was summoned in the Kings Life; for the Country had no Power to elect their Representatives, but by the King's Writ, and therefore could receive no more Power from them, than the Tenour of the Kings Writ granted, which determining with the Kings Life, their Representative-Power was also determined, and by Consequence, they could be no longer a Parliament. If it could be thought they could be yet so, by that Act, then it follows, That a Parliament by their Act might create another Parliament, to exist after themselves were dissolved, which is most absurd, and alters the Root and Foundation of all the Liberties of the Subject; for they become no longer their Representatives, but a Parliament by their own Act; and it will never be thought that the people intended to entrust them with their Authority, to change the Government, and deprive them of their Fundamental Priviledges. The Parliament cannot *De jure* do any thing against natural Equity, *quia jura naturæ sunt immutabilia*. And also by the judgement of a Parliament this could not be, being against the Law and Custom of Parliament, for *Ro. Parl. 42. E. 3. no 7.* it is declared, by the Lords and Commons in full Parliament, upon demand made of them, in the behalf of the King, That they could not assent to any thing in Parliament, that tended to the Disherision of the King and his Crown, to which they were Sworn. Now this Act of the 17th. of *Caroli Primi*, is expressly against the Kings Successors Prerogative, to call his own Parliament, and therefore they could not make such an Act, to the Disherision of his King and Crown. A Parliament may be

be three ways Dissolved, by the Declaration of the Kings pleasure, or for want of entering their Continuances, or by the Kings death; whereby the Kings Writ, which gives them their Authority, is determined. These words, That *this Parliament shall not be Dissolved, unless by Act of Parliament*, is a general Negative, which cannot extend to all Causes of Dissolution, but have a respect only to that most usually hapning, the Pleasure of the King, till the pretended Grievances of the time were satisfied. Now in all Times, the judges have excepted particular Cases out of the general Negative, or Affirmative Words of Statutes. By the Stat. of *Magna Charta* C. 11, 'Tis enacted, That *Common pleas shall not follow or be sued in the Kings-Bench*, which is a general Negative; yet it is holden to be clear in Law, That the King is not within these general Words, and may sue in his Bench, or any other Court at his Pleasure. The Statute of *Winchester* is a general Statute, That the *Hundred, &c. shall make Satisfaction for all Robberies and Felonies within the Hundred*, yet it is Resolved, That the Hundreds shall make no Satisfaction for the Robberies of an House, because the House was the owners Castle, and he might have defended himself, and preserved his Goods. Besides this Clause in the said Act, That *all and every thing done, or to be done, for the Proroguing or Dissolving of this present Parliament, contrary to this present Act, shall be utterly voyd and of none Effect*: By which it appears, That the cause of Dissolution, which they intended to prevent, was something that should consist in Action, by the words, Thing or Things done, or to be done; which words can only be applicable to an Actual dissolution by the Kings pleasure: And the Kings death, is not a thing done, but a Cessation of his personal being, and of the Dependents thereupon: And is not an Action, but a Termination or Period. So that it is most Clear, these men could no longer by any the least Colour of Law or Reason, pretend to sit and Act as a *Parliament*. But alas! What are Arguments to them, who had usurp'd the Throne and Power

Power of their Sovereign? and had the vain and idle Hopes to keep it? And to the strengthening themselves, with all the Arbitrary and Tyrannical ways imaginable, they proceed.

First, they issue out their spurious Act before mentioned, against proclaiming the King, tho by the Law of the Land, instantly upon the King's decease, the imperial Crown of the Kingdom of *England*, was by his inherent Birthright, and by an undoubted Succession and Descent, Actually vested in our now Sovereign, eldest Son to the murdered King, and next Heir of the Blood to his Royal Father, and that before any Ceremony of Coronation, as by Stat. of 1. *Jacobi* Ch. 1. And that all Peers of the Realm, Majors, Sheriffs, and other chief Officers in all the Cities and Corporations of *England*, are oblig'd by their places, and Allegiance, to proclaim him under pain of High Treason, and forfeiting their City and Corporation Charters. And notwithstanding the *Junto's* Prohibition, there were several Proclamations printed and scatter'd about the City, which proclaimed and asserted the Right of the Prince, as next Heir to the Crown, and by Birthright to be the lawful King of Great *Britain*, &c. Dated the 1st of February. Then also in like manner was privately scatter'd about, another Paper, in which were four Propositions briefly declaring: That the House of Commons had no Power of themselves alone, and without the Concurrence of the King and House of Lords, to make any Act of Parliament, Ordinance, or to impose any Tax, Oath, Forfeiture, or Capital Punishment, on any. Secondly, That the few Members now sitting, were no Court of Justice in themselves, and could Erect no such Court for the Tryal of any person, nor had Power to hear and determine any Civil or Criminal Causes, and that all Acts, by Pretext of such Power, were illegal, and the adjudging any Person to death, and Executing them was Treason, and wilful Murder. Thirdly, That the said Commons had no power to make any great Seal of *England*, and that all Commissions granted under their great Seal, were

were illegal, and all Proceedings in Law upon such Writs null and voyd, to all intents and purposes. Lastly, That the denyal of the King's Title to the Crown, and the plotting to deprive him of it, and the setting it upon the Head of another, was High Treason, and within the Stat. 25th. Ed. 3. Ch. 2. as likewise their Subverting the fundamental Laws of the Land, and introducing an Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, was High Treason at the common Law, &c.

This was all the Loyalists could do at present, by these weak Indeavours, to assert the Kings right, and shew the people what Slaves they were become, but this affrighted not these Men, who in the next place, February 1st. Vote, That all such Members who assented to the Vote of the 5th. of December 1648. That the Kings Concessions were a Ground for the House to Proceed to a Settlement, should not be admitted into the House, until they had declared their disapproval of that Vote, before they sit, and that such as were now in the House, should enter their dissent to that Vote, being only those who had before Voted in the Negative.

The Lords were yet sitting, but no notice taken of them by the Commons, for having overthrown the Monarchy, they now lay aside the Lords, and therefore Vote them dangerous and useless, February 5th. and so Voted them down, with this Proviso, That they might be capable to be Elected Knights of the Shire, and Burgeesses, and so sit among the Commons. Three of them only so debased themselves, viz. The Earls of Pembroke, Salisbury, and the Lord Howard of Effrick. The rest of the Peers, put forth their Protestation against these Proceedings, of the Commons; which came forth on the 8th. of February, in which they asserted their own Priviledges, and the fundamental Laws of the Nation, disclaiming the Votes of the Commons, for Erecting an high Court of Justice, for the Tryal of the King, and altering the Government, Law, Seal, &c. and against their Traiterous murdering their Sovereign, and disinheriting the Prince, the Lawful Heir of the Crown

Crown of *England*, and also protesting against their Vote of the 6th. of *February*, for the abolishing the House of Peers, as destructive to the beings of Parliament, the Fundamental Laws of the Realm, and the Lives, Liberties, and Properties of the people, whom they had made Slaves to their Tyrannical and Arbitrary Government.

But this affrights not the Commons, and to keep the Lords from meeting, the Army set a Guard at their Doors of their House, and the House now proceeds to set up a Common-wealth, and to abolish Monarchy; and therefore they formed an Act intitled, an *Act for the Exheredation of the Royal Line, the abolishing of Monarchy in this Kingdom, and the setting up a Common-wealth*, which they ordered to be published in all places. And to Vindicate these their most horrid Proceedings, they had their Pulpit-Trumpeters, who justified their Impious Acts in all places: and *John Godwin* and *Milton*, to write in their Defence of putting the King to death, declaring in Print, That the King suffered on just Grounds, and according to his Demerits. And now instead of one King, these *Common-wealth Rumpers* set up forty Tyrants, as a Committee of State. But the people generally seemed displeased at this Alteration of the Government, and *Reinoldson* Lord Major of the City refused to publish their Act for abolishing of Monarchy, for which he was discharged of his Office, and with two Aldermen sent to the Tower, and *Andrews* was chosen in his stead; upon this the *Rumpers* put forth a new Declaration, to justify their Proceedings, calling them, A Deliverance of the people from the Bondage that was brought in by the *Norman Conquest*, and their Maintenance of the ancient Laws, notwithstanding their Alteration of some forms of the Regality, which ancient Laws might consist very well with a *Republick*, and that they had only abolished their Abuses, promising to establish a safe and firm Peace, and to advance the true Protestant Religion, the Encouragement of a Godly ministry, and of Trade, and the Maintenance of the Poor

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thorowout the Realm. Then their Great Seal came forth, having on one side a Croſs and Harp, for the Arms of *England and Ireland*, with this Inſcription: *The Great Seal of England*. And on the other ſide, was the Picture of the Commons, with theſe words: *In the firſt year of Freedom by God's bleſſing reſtored, 1648*. Like- wiſe they cauſed a new Coyn to be minted, and ſtam- ped their Money with a Croſs and Harp, inſtead of the King's Effigies, with this Motto: *God with us*. Then they took away all Clauſes in any former Acts, for the taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and made them null, and a new Oath framed and tendred to all that were to have any publick place of Truſt, and aſſumed to themſelves both Judicial and Legiſlative power of the King, and both Houſes of Parliament, and the Executive power they committed to a Council of State of forty Perſons, of the moſt Active men in the Army, and others of deſperate Fortunes.

Six of the Judges, viz. Juſtice Bacon, Brown, Red- dſfield, Creſwell, Trevor, and Atkins, quitted their places, not being able to bring their Conſciences to Act under this Arbitrary and illegal power; ſix other of them continued, who were Juſtice Rolles, St. Johns, Pheafant, Baron Wild, and Baron Yates.

To their new Council of State, they gave Power to Command, and ſettle the Militia of *England*, and *Ireland*; Power to ſet forth Ships, and ſuch a Conſiderable Navy as they ſhould think fit. Power to appoint Magiſtrates and ſtores for *England and Ireland*; and to diſpoſe of them for the Service of the Nation. And power to Execute all the powers given them for a whole Year to come. They had two Seals appointed: a great Seal and a Signet: Cromwell was made Chairman of this Committee, and an Oath framed for every Member to take, to be true to the Parliament, (as they termed themſelves) nor to diſcloſe their Secrets, and to adhere to the preſent Settlement of the Government: a Republick without King or Houſe of Lords. About this time the Officers of the Army at a Council

of War, debated, Whether they should not put to the Sword all that were of the King's Party, to secure the Nation to themselves, and it was carried in the Negative, but by two voices, so near were they to a general Massacre. And many Petitions came from several Counties, that at least three of the most eminent of the King's party, in each County, might be put to Death; to free the Land from Blood-Guiltiness.

Cromwell by this, as you may perceive, had gotten all the executive Power of the Kingdom into his own Hand, and into the hands of his own Creatures of the Council of State, altogether ruled by him, and therefore it may be wondred at, that he did not immediately seize the Crown, and set himself in the Throne, which he now aspired to: But things were not yet ripe, and the subtil Fox found such a Levelling party in the Army, which he saw must first be crushed, who would never endure it; for they were for dividing and sharing all, as a kind subdued by them among themselves, and for owning no Authority but the Saints, who were themselves. These begin to rip up the Miscarriages of the Parliament; and *Cromwell*, to make them the more Odious, puts them upon all Things he believed would make them so to the People and Army. One of which was, the new Election of their most Tyrannical Court of Justice, for the Tryal of some of the Lords and others, whom they had still imprisoned for their Loyalty. The first was *Duke Hamilton*, who had invaded *England* as you have heard; with him they at first deal gently, hoping to have screw'd out of him the Names of some Eminent men in *England*, that they thought might have invited him in. But he either not able or willing in that point to give them Satisfaction, and finding the *Scots* and *Irish*'s party to hate him, and to desire his Head, he was Condemned, tho' he pleaded, he had Quarter given him by *Lambert* upon Articles; and would have given a hundred Thousand pound to save his Life. After him was also tryed and Condemned the Earl of *Holland*, and that most Noble and Heroick Peer the Lord *capel*, who

had escaped out of the Tower, but was retaken by means of a perfidious Water-man, ever after hated for it. He pleaded Articles of surrender, but that was denyed him: then he pleaded to be tryed at Common-Law, put them in mind of *Magna Charta*, Petition of right, and of the Fundamental Laws of the Land, and that of right he ought to be tryed by his Peers, urging them to shew a President of any such Tryal by an Arbitrary Court of Justice, as they called it. He talk'd to deaf Statues, for he was too gallant a Man, and too Active, and Loyal, to be permitted to Live. On the 9th. of *March* these three Lords Duke *Hamilton*, the Earl of *Holland*, and this Noble Lord much lamented were put to Death, on a Scaffold in the Pallace-yard in *Westminster*, by severing their Heads from their Bodies. It is remarkable that this Lord dyed with much Courage and Christianity, being nothing daunted at Death. The Earl of *Norwich* and *Sr. John Owen* were pardoned, by Vote of the House, the Earl of *Norwich* having his Life by the casting of the Voyce of *Lenthall* the Speaker only.

Thus they proceed dipping their hands in Blood, growing thereby more Odious to the People, and about this time the *Scots* begin to stir, and made a Protest against the Actions of the Parliament of *England*; and on the third of *February* proclaim the King by the name of *Charles* the second at *Edenborough*; by *Iron* King at Arms. The *Scotch* Commissioners who had been long here, were called home, and at their departure, they left an Expostulatory Declaration, putting the *Junto* in mind of all their Vows and Oaths, in maintenance of the Kings Rights and defence of his Person, and upbraided them with their shameful Abjuration and Infringment of them, by their late horrid Proceedings. This paper they Vote Scandalous and Seditious, imprison the Messenger who brought it, and sending after the Commissioners secure them, till the Parliament in *Scotland* send to justify the Action, and require their Commissioners, being imprisoned Contrary to the Law of Nations, upon which they were permitted to depart into *Scotland*, and thus Jealousies of a breach began.

But Troublesome *John Lilburn*, an Active Leveller began

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now to stir, delivering a Petition in the Names of many Thousand well affected, &c. with a Book intituled *Englands new Chains discovered*, in which they find fault with many things done by this *Junto*, and especially the Council of State, and with the erecting an high Court of Justice and altering the Fundamental Laws of the Land, for Tryals by Juries. Complain of the Excise, and of several other things. And after this another, called a second Part of *Englands new Chains*, which shewed the Hypocrisie and Perfidiousness of the Grantees of the Army, and the Council of State, in Cheating all Interests, King, Parliament, People, Soldiers, City, Agitators, Levellers, &c. Upon the back of this comes forth another Book, called the *Hunting of the Fox*, which spake against the Army and Council of State, set up by *Cromwell* and *Ireton*, to erect a new Tyranny, worse than the thirty Tyrants at *Athens*, the *Star-Chamber*, the *High Commission*, or house of *Lords*, &c. These coming forth one upon the Neck of another, shewed the troublesome Spirit that began to ferment in the Army; which was now to be Purged, as well as the Parliament had been, or else *Cromwell* found he should not be able to work them to his ends. And now he had an opportunity offerr'd him, for *Ireland* being in a manner wholly lost, excepting *Dublin*, then besieged, eleven Regiments were ordered by the *Rump* to be Transported for its relief, by which means *Cromwell* hoped to purge out this Turgent humour of the Army. But some of these bold Petitioners were seized, and tryed by a Countee of War, of which *Barksted* was President, in which they were Cashiered the Army, their Swords ordered to be broken over their Heads, and to Ride with their Faces to the Horses Tails, with Papers of their Crimes pinned to their Breasts, at the head of the Regiments; which Sentence was executed accordingly, to the great Exasperation of the Army. And not long after, several Regiments began to Mutiny and to wear White Colours for distinction in their Hats, which might have proved fatal to *Cromwell's* designs, had he not with an undaunted Boldness

at that time, appearing in Person, overawed them, and causing two of them to be shot to Death, before their Faces. But this could not purge out the Humour, which still increasing, two more of the Levelling Tribe were shot, one of which was named *Lockyer* a Trooper, shot in *St. Paul's Church-yard*, but buried in great State by the *Antiburrian* Faction, wearing green and black Ribbons in their Hats. And now the peoples Eyes daily began to be opened, finding what Keepers of *Englands* Liberties they had got. The Regiments ordered to march at *Salisbury* make an Eruption, alledging that this was a Trick to divide the Army, and that they were not Mercenaries but took up Arms upon a righteous Principle of Government, and therefore would not divide: upon which several Regiments revolt, and Colonel *Scroop's* laid aside their Officers, and with Colours flying march'd to joyn *Harrison's* Regiment, and *Iretton's*, and *Skippon's*, who had confederated. But *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, by hasty marches with the whole Army follow them, who at *Burford* in *Oxfordshire*, made up about five Thousand Horse and Foot, with whom *Cromwell* by private Messengers held them in hand of a Treaty, putting them in hopes of reconciling the Business without blows, which made them neglectful till *Fairfax* and *Cromwell* fell upon them in their Quarters unsuspected, their Horses being most at Grass at twelve a Clock of the night, routed them and took about four hundred Prisoners, of which only three were shot to Death, the rest pardoned by *Cromwell's* Intercession, to ingratiate himself with the Army. One *Thomson* and two more dyed very Resolutely: This business being over, the General and *Cromwell* come to *Oxford*, where they are feasted and made Doctors of the Civil Law. And now the Army were fain to submit, and accepted their Lots for going to *Ireland*, which were these following: *Iretton's*, *Scroop's*, *Horton's* and *Lambert's* Regiments of Horse: Colonel *Abot's* of Dragoons. And of Foot Colonel *Eure's*, *Cook's*, *Hewson's*, and *Deeds's*, to which were added three new ones, *Cromwell's* *Venable's*, and *Phayr's*, *Cromwell* was made Commander

Commander in Chief, with the Title of Lord Governour of Ireland, and Fairfax was left at home to attend the *Juntas*.

In the meantime, the Keepers of the peoples Liberties, were as fast as they could taking away the Lives of several Persons, in several places, whose Loyalty and Consciences had engaged them for their King, as Lievtenant Colonel *Morris*, and Cornet *Blackborn*, who suffered at *Tork*, the former having been Governour of *Pomfret*; and one *Beaumont*, a Minister was hanged at *Pomfret*, by Sentence of a Court Marshal, Major *Monday* was shot to Death at *Leicester*, *Poyer* a brave Gentleman in *Covent-garden*, for the *Welch* Insurrection. *Sr. John Stowell* and Judge *Jenkins* were arraigned at the Kings-Bench Bar as Traytors against the Government, for their Loyalty to their King, but they would not own the Courts jurisdiction, yet they were not yet Sentenced, but their Estates seized, and Judge *Jenkins* kept long a Prisoner.

And that the people might the better see their Freedom and Liberty, this *Rump* lay upon them a standing Tax of ninety thousand pound a Month, for the maintenance of the Army: these were the Persons who made such a stir about Ship-money. The Lord Major of *London* *Reynoldson* is fined two thousand Pound for refusing to proclaim their Act for abolishing Kingly Government. Then upon a report from the Council of State they order: *The King's and Queens Lands to be sold, Thirty thousand Pound to be taken out of it for the use of the Fleet, and the rest to be distributed amongst the most considerable among them, for Satisfaction of Losses sustained.* Thus they had killed and were now taking possession; and several of the Kings Houses and Mannors were bestowed amongst them. And besides this they had twenty thousand Pound a month out of the *Fee-Farm* Rents. Now that the World might perceive what Liberty should be granted to the people, they Order, That no Minister in his Pulpit should meddle with State affairs, and this in others was Oppression, and tying up mens Consciences. But for all that, new Lights as they called them increas-

sed, and about this time one that was a Soldier, came to *Walton* upon the *Thames* in *Surry*, and in the Church-yard, having a Candle and Lanthorn with him, met the Minister and People coming out of the Church, and told them, he had a Vision and five new Lights were shewed him, which they were to receive from him, under pain of Damnation. The first was, That the Sabbath was abolished; The second, That Tythes were abolished; Third, That Ministers were abolish'd, as *Antichristian*; Fourth, That Magistrates were abolish'd as useless; and Fifthly, That the Bible was abolish'd; for Christ was come in the Spirit and Glory; and so drawing a little Bible out of his Pocket, he set it on Fire before them. The War with *Holland* being now about to break forth, the Earl of *Warwick's* former Commission is made voy'd, and three Generals of the Fleet were made, who were *Popham*, *Blake*, and *Dean*. Before *Cromwel's* going to *Ireland* a Fast was kept at *White-Hall*, where among the Militant Preachers *Oliver* stood up, and in his Prayer he desired God to take off from him the Government of this mighty people of *England*, as being too heavy for his shoulders to bear. About this time also a third Book of *John Lilburn's* came forth, Called, *The Picture of the Council of State*, wherein he fully set forth all the illegal, Arbitrary, Violent, and Tyrannical Proceedings of that Council. *Lilburn*, *Overton*, *Walwin*, *Prince* and others had been before Clapt into the Tower, intending to try them for their Lives; *Lilburn* was ordered to be brought to the Kings-Bench Bar upon his *Habeas Corpus*, but *Cromwell* sent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, that he should not be brought, who was obey'd, not the Judges. By which may be seen of what force the Laws were with them. Then some thousands well affected Women petition the House in behalf of *Lilburn*, but the *Junto* answered them, He should be tryed by the Law, for his Book called *Englands new Chains discovered*, and they bid to go home and wash their Dishes: Who reply'd they had neither Dishes nor Meat left.

This *John Lilburn* was tryed by a special Commission
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of Oyer and Terminer in October 1649. where he so notably pleaded his Cause, shewed the illegality of the Parliaments Proceedings, and so punctually cited all the Statutes and Laws of the Land, in the behalf of the Liberties of the Subjects, and so baffled the Judges, the Attorney general *Prideaux*, and their Councell, that they could not Effect what they desired, the taking away his Life upon an Inditement of High Treason put in against him, but was found *Not Guilty*, by his Jury, to the great disappointment of his Enemies.

Their chief business now was to give one another Estates, out of the Delinquents Lands, as they called the Loyal Party, whom they now sequester, and made an Order That no Malignant or such as had been in Arms against them should come within twenty miles of London, or go five miles from their own habitations. Bishops and Deans and Chapters Lands sold and disposed to one another at easie Rates, some got for three years Purchase, for none but themselves would buy them. About this time they send their Embassadors *Oliver St. Johns*, and *Walter Strickland* into Holland, for Satisfaction for Doctor *Dorilaus*, who drew up the Charge against the King, his being Assassinated in Holland, by some *Cavaliers*, but they were there affronted and forced to return *Re infecta*, in great Discontent, which exasperated our new States against the Dutch. *Ascham* another of their Creatures was murdered also in Spain. And tho the Dutch sent afterwards their Agent *Myn heer Joachim*, with Complements and excuses, our *Junto* could not forget it, and by it took an occasion to forgo their Friendship, and prohibited their Fishing upon the English Coasts, and the importing of any forrain Commodities, except in English bottoms: or such as were of the Countrey, whence the Commodities came. This brought on the ensuing War commenced the next year, between these two States.

In the mean time, they have no small umbrage of the Scots Proceedings; who had sent to the King then at the Hague, and invited him into Scotland with several Propositions in order thereunto. But *Middleton* and *Mon-*

not fearing the Kirk Party would hold the King to hard Terms, should he come in upon their Propositions, rise in the North of Scotland, but were soon suppress'd by Ker and Stranghan; upon this our Junco strike in, and offering them by their Letters several fair Temptations, that they might break with the King, promising to stand by them, and to defend their Liberty as they called it. But this took not. And about this time they make a new Act of Treason, such as scarce was ever heard of before: That to kill the General, Lieutenant General, or any Member of that House of Parliament, or Council of State should be Treason, was to have been put into it, but after long debate was omitted, betraying too much Cowardise in them, and having other ways secured themselves in the Act. For it was made Treason, to Act, Plot, Conceive, or speak against this Fag End of the Parliament, or their Government, and all Endeavours against the Keepers of the Liberties of England, and the Council of State, to subvert them, as now Constituted, and that shall be hereafter Constituted by Parliament, (what an *individuum vagum* is here?) and for every such Act, &c. to forfeit Life and Estate: And also to move, and stir up the people against them, was declared Treason, nay so much as to endeavour to withdraw any Soldier, or Officer from their obedience to their Superior Officer, or from the present Government aforesaid. Also to Counterfeir their great Seal is by this Act made Treason. Are not these in the mean time excellent Conservators of the Liberties of the Nation? And a very free State? *Lilburn* in the Tower was kept from Pen, Ink and Paper, and all allowance for Meat and Drink taken from him, tho he petitioned for it, so that he was kept three days with half a Meals meat, and in a close Chamber, none suffered to come at him: This under a King had been Tyrannical, but is Prudence in this free State. About this time also orders were given to certain Committees, to inquire upon Oath, and to Certifie the improved value of every mans Estate, both Real and Personal, which they intended thorowout the Kingdom, following

lowing the Conqueror's steps, to have by them a Doomsday Book, that they might the better load the people with Taxes, and free Quarter, in this their new Subjected and Conquered Kingdom, called a *Free-state*. Here the House enables their Committees to give Oaths, when they had not Power to give any themselves, Contrary to that *Maxim*, None can give what he hath not: or more Power than is in himself. These are the men that were so much troubled with the Oath *ex Officio*, and yet require Oaths against a mans self: Nay, the Scriveners in London were commanded by these supreme Governors, to shew their Books, that they might inspect, what and whose Money they had in their Hands, the better to come at it themselves. And that they might grasp at all, they were Contriving to seize all the Tythes of the Kingdom into their own Hands, and to make all Ministers their Stipendary Lecturers, and to depend upon the State, that they might Preach no Doctrine, but what should be agreeable to themselves, or in justification of their Actions. This was a politick Device.

Oliver before he went for *Ireland*, took all the politick Care possible, to keep up the Greatness he had acquired; and to secure this *Junto* of Men, which he made use of only to set up himself, besides the Bridle he had already made them, the Council of State, Composed of his Creatures, he picks out of the Army left behind in *England*, the chief of his Creatures, and Constitutes them a Council of War, or a Council of Officers, to over-awe all with the Power of the Sword, for *silent Leges inter Arma*, and now *silent Justitia inter Leges*, & *silent Jus inter Judices*. The Government was now a *Cerberus* with three Heads, a Parliament, a Council of State, and a Council of War. Many Scruple to pay their illegal Tax of ninety Thousand pound a Month, for the Army, and therefore have their Goods taken from them by Violence, and sold, tho they exclaim against it, as not done by Law. Mr. *Prin* declares against it, and shews it to be against the Statutes *Magna Charta*, 29. 30. 25. *Ed.* 1 Chap. 56. 34. *Ed.* 1. 21. *Ed.* 3. 25. *Ed.* 3. 47. *Ed.* 3. 11. Hen. 4.

1. Rich, 3. The *Petition of Right*, and many more; and it was observed to them, that no Tax was to be imposed but upon necessity and for the good of the People, 2. Ed. 1. *Cook Inst.* but for the keeping up an Army when the Wars were done, was the bane of the People, and that more Taxes had been raised in eight years, than in all the Kings Reigns since the Conquest. A hundred and fifty thousand Pound was advanced for *Oliver's* expedition into *Ireland*, who was to be accountable only of part of it, the rest to be disposed at his Discretion, for the use of the *Common-wealth*.

And now this *Junto* begin to think of adjourning themselves according to *Oliver's* desire, and in the mean time, things to be left to his two Caballs or Councils, That of State, and that of War: but this was a bitter Pill, and they knew not how to leave their old Seats, where most of them were grown very warm, and thourged to it by the Councils, and that some trouble was given to *Lenthall* their Speaker, by Articles drawn up by his Council of Officers; but they fearing, lest they might not get together again, if once separated, desired time to finish some Acts they had upon their Hands, and when they would adjourn themselves; by which you may see, how free these Keepers of the Kingdoms freedom were. First down went the King, and his Power lapsed into the two Houses, down went the House of Lords, and then all Power was in the House of Commons, now they are going down, and the supream Power is in a Council of State, who must down too, and then the Wheel turns round, and all the Power will be in a single Tyrannical person and Usurper. Some of the Acts that lay yet on their Hands, and which they promised to dispatch, were, That all Acts concerning Loans, Monies, Exeise, Sequestrations, Goldsmiths-Hall, Haberdashers-Hall, Assessments for *England* and *Ireland* be passed; so that they intended a Continuance of the Peoples Slavery and Burthens. Also an Act for settling the Militia throughout the Kingdom. An Act for punishing revolted Seamen. An Act for the relief of well affected Tenants,

nants, against Malignant Land Lords. An Act for suppressing Malignant Pamphlets, aspersing the Proceeding of this Parliament, Council of State and Army. An Act for the suppressing of seditious Preachers. An Act for the cutting away of a Clause of the Stat. 25. Eliz. and the 1. Jacobs against Sectaries. An Act of general Pardon and Oblivion, to all Persons except such as should be nominated therein. An Act for relief of poor Prisoners. An Act to secure the Souldiers their Arrears. Then they were Considering of some orders which the Council of State were to put in Execution (and which the said Council desired of them) after their recess, 1. That they might appoint Commissioners in every Countrey to make an Estimate of all Tyths. 2. That the Council of State may consider of settling future Parliaments, and the constant time of Calling, Sitting, and Ending, after this Parliament shall Dissolve themselves: 3. That they shall consider an Act for regulating Proceedings at Law, and to prevent tediousness of Suits. 4. That they should consider what Laws are fit to be repealed. Thus they were Cutting out one another Work.

In the mean time *Oliver Cromwell*, with a brave Army lands at *Dublin*, the whole Kingdom being reduced under the Kings obedience, most of the *Irish* coming in, except the *Ulster Irish*, under *Owen Roe O'Neal*, being prevailed with by the Popes *Nuncio*, (Contrary to his promise,) not to come in, and under-hand there was a Confederacy driven between our new *Republicans*, and this *Nuncio*, but on what Conditions was kept Private, for their Assistance of reducing that Kingdom under their obedience, tho' this being laid in their Dish, they impudently deny'd it afterwards. Some of the Propositions were, That all Laws and Penalties against the Popish Religion should be taken off, by Act of Parliament; and that Act to extend to them and their Heirs for ever. That an Act of Oblivion should be pass'd, to extend to all of his Party, for all things done, since the beginning of the year, 1641: So that the horrid Massacre of the *Protestants*, should have been forgotten.

That

That *Owen O'neal* should have a competent Command in the Army. That they should enjoy their Lands now in Possession, and that rightly they might claim from their Antecessors. That all Acts of State that incapacitated them, to be taken off. That *O'neal* should in regard of his Merit, and good Service to the *Parliament*, in joyning with them, have all the Estate of his Ancestors, or some Estate equivalent to it, in the Counties of *Tyrone*, *Armagh*, or *London-Derry*. And that his Army should be provided for, &c. So that the sweetness of ruling and getting *Ireland* into their hands, as well as *England*, made them thus treat with the Popes Nuncio, and a most notorious Rebel and Papist, to joyn with them. But they who had Confederated with the Devil, might well joyn with his Holiness, to subdue the *Cavaliers*, and yet at the same time these men cryed out upon the Duke of *Ormond*, for joyning with the *Irish*, for the reducing that Kingdom to the obedience of the King. And some of *Cromwell's* own Soldiers, hearing of this Confederacy, abominating it, deserted him, which made him to certify to his Journey-men in *London*; and caused them to withdraw their Debenters for all their Service, which were stated before the Expedition. And this Agreement with *O'neal* went so far, that the said *O'neal* assisted *Sr. Charles Coote*, in raising the Siege of *London-Derry*, as may appear by his Letters to the *Parliament*, says the Author of the History of *Independency*; However they fell to pieces afterwards, but this is enough to shew by what Principles they Acted, and how much they valued Religion, when Gain and Dominion stood in Competition.

O'neal is successful in *Ireland*; at the taking of *Tredagh*, a strong place twenty miles North of *Dublin*, in which were the Flower of the *Irish* Army, where he put to the Sword all persons whatsoever, without Distinction of Age or Sex, and lasted for three days; he slew about three thousand of their best and stoutest men, with their Governour *Sr. Arthur Aston*, *Sr. Edmund Varny*, Collonel *Went*, Collonel *Dun*, *Finglus*, *Tempest*, and others, who all fell by his Fury, which so affrighted the rest, that he

no sooner appeared before a place, but it was surrendered to him. The next place was *Wexford* a considerable Town, by the Sea, South West of *Dublin*, which was betray'd to him, and where he after a barbarous manner put to the Sword two Thousand more; and among the rest two hundred of the chiefest Women of the place, fled to the Marker-Cross for shelter, and there put to the Sword, by his Command, tho several of his own Soldiers, who had before given them Quarter, refused to obey his Bloody Commands. After which, he took *Ross, Carick, Kilkenny, Clonmel*, and other places in *Munster*. Thus with extraordinary diligence, and great Slaughter, in less than a year, that he staid there, he subdued the greatest part of *Ireland*, and kill'd and exterminated most part of the *Irish*, leaving his Son-in-Law *Ireton*, to complete the Conquest, as Governour, or his Lieutenant, who there died of the Plague, before he had quite finish'd his work.

In the mean time the King being in *Jersey*, received a Letter from the *Scots*, by Mr. *Windram*, with several Conditions; the chief of which was the acknowledging them a Parliament, and particularly the two last Sessions of that Assembly, and then they would treat with him at *Breda* concerning his coming to *Scotland*, owning him for their King. But those about his Majesty, having no good Opinion of the *Scots*, were fearful of having him to put himself into their Hands, but to trust to *Montross*, whom with a Commission he had sent before into *Scotland*, his valiant Service being most remarkable there, for the King his Father, and they now hoped from him the like success: However the King dispatch'd away *Windram* with a Letter to the *Scotch* Parliament, wherein he concedes to have them to send Commissioners to him to treat at *Breda*, which they did, and on the 16th. of *March* they met, where the Agreement was made, and it was concluded, That they should enjoy the *Presbytery* throughout the Kingdom, the King himself and Family not excepted, but bound him to the Covenant, Directory, and Catechisms, which the King,

his

his Affairs in *Ireland* being desperate, and his hopes in *England* as little, many Noble-men and Gentlemen flying thence from the bloody Tyranny of the Stares, he was forced with great Reluctancy to Consent, and then on their parts they Covenant, That his Majesty should be admitted to the Throne of *Scotland*, That his Rights should by Parliament be recovered out of the Hands of Usurpers, and That they would assult to bring to Condign Punishment, the Murtherers of his Father, and to restore him to his Kingdom of *England*:

But in the *interim* of this Treaty, the gallant and renowned *Montross*, being landed in the *Islands* of *Orkney*, with a few *German* Soldiers, accompanied with the Lord *Trendraught*, *Sr. John Wry*, *Henry Graham*, *Collonel Johnson*, *George Drummond* of *Ballack*, and other Persons his Friends and Confederates, he begun with great Resolution and Courage to levy men, notwithstanding several Losses of Arms at Sea, and disappointments of Men and Monies, which he had expected from other places. Having raised what men he could in the *Orcades*, he left some men to keep the *Island*, and transported the rest to *Cathness* in the uttermost North-west part of *Scotland*, where he hoped to have met some men, whom he expected *Pluscardy* should have raised, but the Parliament of *Scotland* having notice of his Landing, was so vigilant by their Correspondence and Friends in those Parts, that the High-Landers could not rise as was expected, and immediately they sent an Army of seven Thousand Foot, and thirty Troops of Horse to oppose *Montross*. *David Leslie* commanded the Horse, and Major General *Holburn* the Foot. These making great speed, struck a dread into the Breasts of many, who were the Kings friends, and would have appeared, had a little longer time been given them. *Straham*, who led the Van, finding *Montrosses* party surprised, at their unexpected approach, made use of the Advantage, and fell in upon them, and the unseasoned *Orkney* men soon yielded themselves, and in a short time the *Germans*, tho they made some resistance; thus the Earl lost the day, more through the

Famick

Panick fear of his Soldiers, than want of Courage and Conduct in himself, who was certainly one of the most skilful and valiant Leaders of his Age. There escaped not above an hundred, and most of his Officers were either taken or slain. He got away himself, quitting his Horse, Belt, Coat, and Star, in an ordinary High-Landers habit, but it was impossible for him to get clear away, the Country being every way beset, and such strict search after him, and rewards promised to those who could take him; yet for three or four days, keeping in the Woods, with one Companion only, till almost starv'd, he kept out of their Clutches, till at last he fell into the Hands of the *Laird of Aston*, who formerly had adhered to the Marquess, hoping that he would have Concealed him: But fear being more Prevalent than ancient Friendship, he set a Guard upon him, and delivered him up to *Lefly*, who in triumph carried him to *Edenborow*, where this noble Marquess was treated with the most horrid Barbarity that ever was heard of, and at last hanged on a Gibbet thirty foot high, his head Cut off, and set on the *Talbooth* at *Edenborow*, and his four Quarters sent to be set up at *Sterling*, *Glasgow*, *St. Johns Town*, and *Aberdeen*, four of the notedest Cities in *Scotland*. Together with him were executed, tho not with so much disgrace, *Sr. John Wry*, *Collonel Spotswood*, *Laird of Darcy*, with some others of note, who came with the Marquess into *Scotland*. This was the end of that most noble Peer, murdered by the *Kirk* or *Presbyterian* Party, on the twenty first of *May*, 1650, even when they were treating with their King; which indignity his Majesty was said to put up, tho he could not but shew his Resentment for that faithful Servants Barbarous usage at their Hands, writing to them particularly about it: to whom they returned their Excuses, letting him know they did it for the Service of his Majesty, inviting him into *Scotland*, and protesting to assist him with their Lives and Fortunes, to establish him in his Throne.

The King prepares for his Voyage, and notwithstanding *Popham* one of the *Junto's* Admirals was at Sea with

a Fleet; hoping to intercept him, he got safe into Scotland, and Landed in the north Parts at Spey, from whence he went to *Edenborow*, where he was received with great Acclamations; and again on the 15. of July, solemnly proclaimed at *Edenborow*; but it was not long, before the ill Nature of the *Presbyterians* began to appear, and they began to exercise their Kirk Authority, and all Malignants as they called the Kings best Friends, prohibited to come at him; they lessen his Family, and are angry that *Aberdeen* had presented him with five hundred Pound; and lest others should do the like, They order, That what Money or Plate any intended to bestow upon the King, should be brought into the publick Treasury: But they form an Army as fast as they can, of which the King was to be *Generalissimo*, and the Earl of *Levin* Lieutenant General, *Holborn* Major General, and *Lisly* Lieutenant General of the Horse, and *Montgomery* Major General.

In the mean time, the *Junto* begin to look about them, ill news comes apace from the North Quarter, of a threatening Storm, and they make ready to meet it; but the *Presbyterian* Ministers, had been tampering with *Fairfax*, and had represented this War with Scotland so illegal, being against the Church, that he being a *Presbyterian*, made many Excuses, pleading Sicknes and Wounds, and desiring to be Excused from commanding the Army, that was to fight against their Brethren; for now the *Presbyterians*, not out of any Love to the King, but to themselves, hoping to set up their own Church-Government, as they saw it was like to be in Scotland, Confederated privately together, and intend to joyn with the Scots. All these things are made known to *Cromwell* in Ireland, who now thought it high time to play his Part in England, things still working for his Advancement; and therefore sending to the *Junto* for leave to come over he prepares to be gone, but Occasion pressing, he stays not for the return of Letters, but full of his great Archievements in Ireland, he leaves it, and Lands at *Bristol*, whence he Posts to London, where he is met, Complemented, and Carested by the Members of the

Junto

Junio, and the Creatures of his Councils, and presently, *Fairfax* still refusing the command of the Army, *Cromwell* is by order of the Rump made General, and *Fairfax* laid aside. And now with all Expedition he joins his Army, and draws his Forces together, prepares for Scotland, and about the latter end of *June* marches to *Berwick*, whence he sends canting Letters to the *Scots*, who fearing their people should be gull'd with his fair Words, proclaim it Treason to hold Correspondence with the *English*. The *English* Army was about sixteen Thousand men Compleat, with which *Cromwell* marches into Scotland, most of the *Scots* having left the Borders, and waisted the Country, so that the *English* Army found small resistance, but much want of Provisions, yet they had a Fleet who waited their Motions at Sea, and Coasted it along to supply them. The *Scotch* Army in the mean time, lay encamped betwixt *Edenborough* and *Leith*, being six thousand Horse and Dragoons, and fifteen thousand Foot. *Cromwell* advances within sight of the *Scots*, whom he found strongly incamped on the Hills, but on the 25th. of *July* he attempts one of the Hills, with a small Party, and beat off the *Scots*, but a party of the *Scots* Horse fell in upon their Rear so furiously, that they began to be in disorder, till repulsed by *Lambert* and *Whaly*, who had the Rere-Guard, in which Action *Lambert* had his Horse shot under him, and himself ran thorow the Arm with a Lance, and taken Prisoner, but rescued by one Lieutenant *Enson*. After this the *English* advance towards *Muscleborough*, where the *Scots* set upon them, betwixt three and four in the Morning, with fifteen hundred of their best Horse, under the Command of *Montgomery* and *Stranghan*, and charged so furiously, that they had almost Pierced the whole Army, but in their return *Okey* met with them, and forced them back to their Camp with as much Speed, having lost an hundred men in the Action.

Whilst these things were doing in Scotland, the *Junio* are Active at home in suppressing all Persons from appearing for the *Scots* Interest, with all the Rigor imaginable

nable and Doctor *Levens* a Doctor of the Civil Law being taken dispersing some Commissions from the King was tryed by their Court marshal, Condemned to be hang'd and Executed accordingly on the 13th. of July over against the Royal Exchange in London. And further to shew their inveterate Spite to the Royal Family, they cause the last Kings Statues to be broken to Pieces, and caused to be written under the Nick where one stood in the Royal Exchange: *Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno Libertatis Angliæ restituta primo, Annq; Domini, 1648.* Now also was discovered a design of a rising to be in *Lancashire* for the King, in which were several of the Presbyterian Ministers in London, and others; upon which Mr. Cook of *Grays-Inn*, Mr. Gibbons, Mr. Potter, Doctor *Drake*, *Jenkins*, and *Love*, Presbyterian Ministers, were taken, and for which they were try'd by their murdering High Court of Justice, and about the Latter end of July, Gibbons, Potter, and that Incendiary *Love* were Executed: wherein 'tis remarkable that the Justice of God should so overtake this Person, so as to bring him to the Block (for he was beheaded) who by his preaching against the late King, broke off the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, and was the occasion of bringing that Royal Martyr to suffer under the Ax.

But whilst they were shedding Blood at London, by their High Court of Justice, *Cromwell* was letting it forth in Scotland, with the Sword: for on the 3d. of September, was the famous Battel of *Dunbar*, which gain'd him so much Honour, and established his greatness in the Army, tho his Conduct in bringing his Army to those Streights they were in, being forced by despair to fight, did appear very ill on his side; for *Cromwell's* Army very much wanting Provisions, were so far advanced, that they could not well return without Hazard, and I suppose he engaged himself the more boldly, for that he understood the differences in the Scotch Army, between the Rigid *Kirk* Party, and the other more moderate for the King, hoping, by his frequent Letters, and Declarations of his pious Intentions towards the Presbyterians,

to bring most of them over to him, or at least to make such division amongst them, that he hoped to obtain an easie Victory. *Cromwell* had advanced within a Mile and an half of *Edenborow*, took a small Garrison, and Man'd it with *English*, but being still pressed with want of Provisions, he draws off to *Penkland Hills*, and thence to *Dunbar*, thinking that way to ship his men for *England*, the Fleet attending; but the *Scots* perceiving the Advantage, and that he was in a strait, follow him close, and were now in a manner sure of a Victory. The *Scots* being about twenty four Thousand men, and double the number of the *English*, who were weary and Faint, had they staid, and not put them into Despair, no doubt they had obtained their Desires; but fearing they should escape them, they followed them within a Mile of *Dunbar*, and drew up upon the Hills, at the Foot of which lay *Cromwell*, who now saw the streights into which he had brought himself, having only a Neck of Land to encamp on, whose breadth was not a Mile and an half, the Sea being on both sides, so that they were got into a perfect Pound, and the *Scots* having possess'd all the Hills, he was in some Amazement; ship his men he could not without certain Loss: Next morning the *Scots* drew down to the Foot of the Hills, but there was a great Ditch between the Armies; but at a Village called *Copperspeith* between *Dunbar* and *Berwick*, there was a Passage over the Hills, which it seems was strangely neglected by the *Scots*, too sure of the Victory: but *Cromwell* taking hold on the Advantage, having with his field Pieces secured the Ditch, sent away a good Party of Horse and Foot to possess it. This gave the *Scots* an Alarm, and now they saw their Error, and that of necessity they must let the *English* pass home, or fight them. The *Kirk Ministers* being in the Council of War, were extreemly against letting *Agag* go, as they called *Cromwell*, for that God had given him into their Hands, contrary to the Opinion of the more knowing Commanders: But upon this, there was a fierce Dispute at this Pass, which the *English* with much

Valour

Valour obtained, and possessed themselves of; The Cannon on both sides playing against the Bodies, the Battle began, the *English* word was *The Lord with us*, the *Scots* was *The Covenant*. The *Scots* first Charge put the *English* Horse into a little Confusion, but being stoutly seconded by the Foot, they Charg'd the *Scots* so home, that they put them to the Rout: which put their Foot into such Confusion and Disorder, that the *English* gained a full and easie Victory, following the pursuit for eight Miles and slew and took Prisoners of them as many or more than they were themselves, there being four Thousand slain, and nine Thousand taken Prisoners, with all their Bag and Baggage, ten Thousand Armes, and all their Ammunition, and with the loss of not above three hundred *English*. The Colours and the Purse and great Seal of *Scotland* there taken, were sent up to *London*; where was no small rejoycing among the Rumpers for this Victory: And the Colours ordered to be hung up in *Westminster-Hall*. Some of the *Scotch* Ministers engaging were slain, in this fight. *Cromwell* it is said, in his great Necessity and straits before the fight, prayed to God and promised him, That if he would be pleased at this time to deliver him; he would in return of the Favour, as soon as he came into *England*, take away Tythes. A pretty Vow to commit Sacriledge to obtain Mercy. Upon this Loss, *Cromwell* pursues his Victory, and possesses himself of *Leith* and *Edenborow*, which the *Scots* had quitted, the King being retired to *St. Johnston*, where were assembled their Committee of States. The *Kirk* Party began to lay their mis-fortunes upon the King, and said God had disowned them for bringing him into *Scotland*: And shewed so much insolence and ill behaviour to him, that he was no longer able to brook it, and therefore one morning, taking Horse as if he had been going to Hunting, he went privately towards the North, but the *Scots* fearing lest he should joyn with the High-Landers, and being somewhat humbled by *Cromwell*, they sent after him Major General *Montgomery*, to intreat him to return, but with such a force, as it was thought,

thought, would perform it by Compulsion, if he would not do it by Intreaty. But the King perswaded, returns to *St. Johnstons*, where the Committee of Estates being somewhat more Compliant, (thank *Cromwell* for that) many of the Kings friends were admitted to him. This made many dissatisfied Ministers withdraw themselves into the West, as *Guthery*, *Gelaspy*, *Rutherford*, and others, where they put forth a Remonstrance against the Proceedings of the Assembly, in the Admission of *Malignants* to Power and Employment, and with these *Ker*, *Stranghan*, *Laird Warreston*, *Sr. John Christley*, *Sr. James Stewart*, and others, joyn in Confederacy. These Broils made well for *Cromwell*, who found small Opposition. He took *Ken* Prisoner, and *Edenborow* Castle was surrendred to him on the 24th. of *December* 1650. This very much troubled the *Scots*, for after that *Cromwell* succeeded so well, that he took in all the Forts on this side of *Sterling*. In *January* the *Scots* Crown the King at *Scoon*, the accustomed place for the Coronation of the Kings of *Scotland*, which is not far from *St. Johnstons*, with great Pomp and Solemnity.

In the mean time, the *Junto* in *England* still sat, and Voted Liberty of Conscience to all, which was a most distasteful thing to the *Presbyterians*. Also they fell to levying of Souldiers, giving the Command to *Harrison*, now made Major General, a fifth-Monarchy man, most of these men being raised by those sort of men, and the other Sectaries, with which this Army swarmed, and the *Presbyterian* Interest daily declined, every where being called a most horrid Tyranny, and worse than the *Prelacy*. They also about this time formally receive Embassadors from *Portugal*, and *Spain*, who for Interest acknowledge their Power. All they did besides, was the constant Persecution of the Royal Party after their Tyrannical manner, *Collonel Eusebius Andrews*, a constant Loyalist, and firm to the interest of his King, being by Profession a Councillor of *Grays-Inn*, having been underhand Contriving some Insurrection, in the behalf of the King, was betray'd by some of his Confederates

federates, and taken at *Gravissend*, and after sixteen Weeks being Prisoner in the Tower, and several times examined, he was brought to his Tryal before their bloody High Court of Justice, *Bradshaw* sitting as President. Where he admirably pleaded his Cause, but the Attorney General *Prideaux*, over-ruled all, and told him the Court was not to take notice of his Law Cases, but of his Confession, and tho he had Acted no Treason, yet he had an Affection for Treason, and therefore deserved Death: An excellent Mark of the Liberty of the Subject under Usurpers. And upon this learned distinction, the Bloody Court proceeded to Sentence against him, that he should be Beheaded: Thus the Will of Usurpers is become Law. This Heroick Gentleman suffered accordingly on the 22d. of *August* 1650, on Tower-Hill, where he dyed with much Constancy, Magnanimity, and Christianity. In *October* following, one *Benson*, involved in the same Design with Collonel *Andrews*, was tryed and Condemned, by the aforesaid Tyrannical Court, and on the 7th. was Executed, being Hanged for his Loyalty. At the same time, was an Insurrection in *Northfolk*, which being suppressed, many suffered for the same in several places. In *March* following, the Grandees at *Westminster*, by the same Arbitrary Power, after the *Turkish* Precedent, put to Death the Loyal Sr. *Henry Hide*, before the *Exchange*. It was Crime enough that he was a Royalist, and Brother to the afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*, then with the King. But his pretended Crime was, That he had been an Agent from the King, after the Death of his Royal Father, to the grand Signior. He was bred a Merchant, and had a repute amongst the *Turkish* Company, and was by them made their Consul at *Morta*, and this Gentleman the King sent to the Port, in order to some private concerns, and not for the Confiscation of the Merchants Estates, as the people were made to believe: but he being there, the *Visire* was privately tampered with, who betray'd him, and sent him to *England* a Prisoner in the Ships thence bound for *Smirna*, in one of which he was brought to *London*, and Committed to the Tower

Tower, convented before the aforesaid Court, by whose Power he was Condemned and Beheaded as aforesaid, on the 4th. of *March* 1650. And now their Hands were in all went to Pot that came in their way; the *April* following Captain *Brown Bushell* was the next Criminal they Murthered for his Loyalty: he had long lain under restraint in the Tower, and almost starved for want of Sustainance, and at last being put into their Bloody Roll of such as were to be Tryed, he was called to their Bar, and Condemned. But his Wife solicited very hard for a Reprieve, which at last they promised her, with which joyful News she repaired to her Husband, Comforting themselves together till four a Clock in the Afternoon, but had no sooner left him, with those flattering Hopes, but the Warrant came for his present Execution; they finding it seems that he was too well beloved by the Seamen, and wree in Fear of him, and so about six of the Clock at Night they put him to Death, on the Ground under the Scaffold on Tower-Hill; which he suffered with much Resolution.

In the mean time *Cromwell* was very watchful and Diligent, and endeavoured all he could, tho not with any success, to engage the *Scots* Army, which was drawn up at *Sterling*, where the King was with them. But the King having a Design to pass into *England*, waved engaging, with as much Care, as the other, flush'd with Victory and Success, sought it, who was come within sight of the *Scottish* Army. In *Lancashire* several expected his coming, and were ready to rise upon his approach, tho disappointed by the *Rumps* Vigilancy: *Cromwell*, for want of Provisions, was forced to remove, and attempted to get over to *Fife* side: It was about this time, that several rude fits of an Ague shook him so shrewdly, that there was an equal engagement of Hopes and Fears on the side of either party, of his marching into another world; Doctor *Write* and Dr. *Bates*, two eminent Physicians, being sent from *London*, to administer Physick to him, being brought very low. But at last by the help of these Doctors, who had the charge of him, by the

Junto's order, he recovered, to the sorrow of the Royal Party. At last, the *English* under Collonel *Overtou*, with about fifteen or sixteen thousand Foot, and four Troops of Horse, with much difficulty, forced their Landing; *Cromwell* drawing up close to the *Scots* at the same time, with all his Forces, with an intention to fall upon their Rere, if they should attempt to beat them out of *Fife*. Yet the *Scots* sent four thousand Horse and Foot, under Sir *John Brown*, which *Cromwell* having notice of, sent over *Lamber*: and *Okey*, with two Regiments of Horse and Foot, and engaging with him, defeated him, took him with many others prisoners, having slain about two thousand of the *Scots*. This gave the *English* firm footing in *Fife*, and they easily took in several places on that side the *Frith*. And now the King was necessitated to follow his design, in marching for *England*; and whilst *Cromwell* went about to set upon *S. Johnston's*, that he might make himself Master of the Pass at *Sterlin*, which he took after a days siege, the King marches for *England* from *Sterlin*, by the way of *Carlisle*, with about sixteen thousand complete. This News gave *Cromwell* an alarm, and immediately he dispatches a Messenger with Letters to his Masters in *England*, to inform them of it; and to comfort them, believing they would entertain no pleasant thoughts thereat, giving them an account of his successes, and that they should have confidence in God, and should improve the best they could, what Forces they had in readines, and should raise more, and not be afraid; for the Enemy was heart-smitten, and were in a desperate condition, with such like stuff. In the mean time, he orders Major General *Harrison*, and Collonel *Rich*, who were on the Borders, to attend the morion of the King's Army, until he were able to come up to them with his Forces. The Parliament, notwithstanding his canting Letters, began to be jealous of him, and spoke big words against him, which came to his ears, and which he remembered afterwards to their cost. In the mean time, *Lambert*, with about three thousand Horse and Dragoons is speeded after the King; and presently

scarcely after, *Cromwell* himself follows, the same day the King enters *England*, which was on the sixth of *August*, having departed from *Sterlin* the last of *July*. On his entering into *England*, he was proclaimed as he went, and pardon offered to all sorts of persons, excepting *Cromwell*, *Bradshaw*, *Cook*, and some others the most immediate Murtherers of his Father. At the same time a Party in *North-Wales* began to rise, to joyn with the Earl of *Darby*, but were broken and disappointed. The King with his wearied Men, on the two and twentieth of *August* comes to *Worcester*, being beset before and behind, by the new raised Forces, *Cromwell*, *Lambert* and *Harrison*. The *Militia* of *London*, and of several Counties, flock to *Worcester*; so that by that time *Cromwell* was come up to them, they had formed an Army of forty thousand men, or more. The Earl of *Darby* brought to the King two hundred and fifty foot, and sixty Horse; and having raised about twelve hundred more in *Lancashire*, and those parts, he was engaged by *Lilburn*, and routed; and several persons of Quality taken. By this time, *Cromwell* had close begirt *Worcester*, and the King's Party beheld themselves in a very bad condition, hemm'd in on all sides with numerous Foes, and now too late saw their error, of not marching directly to *London*, which was dreaded by the *Funto*, and which was earnestly desired and expected by the *Londoners*, who wanted only a fuller security of shewing their inclinations for the King, being over-awed, and hindered through fear from declaring.

But God did not see it good, that the King should be brought to the Throne, by any other hand than that of Peace, and by his own Subjects of *England*, intending to shew him a more immediate care of his miraculous providence, in his preservation, and that he might not be subject to the *Presbyterians* for their assistance, nor beholden to them for his Crown; he was resolved to bring him in after a more glorious manner.

Notwithstanding the great disadvantages the *Scots* were in, they were resolved with much courage to sell

their lives as dear as they could, and that the *English* should not find it an easie purchase. The first considerable Engagement was at *Upton Bridge*, on *Fleetwood's* side, who was Lieutenant General of the Army, where *Lambert* with five hundred Horse and Dragoons, beat *Collonel Maffy*, who endeavoured to maintain it. But the fatal day was on the third of *September*, auspicious to *Cromwell* the last year in his fight at *Dunbar*. It is not my design to draw you the Scheme of the Battel, intending only in these Papers to shew more particularly things of another nature: this Action has been sufficiently made known; therefore I shall only very briefly mention it. The *Scots*, to give them their due, and the little handful of *English* that were with them, fought bravely, and shewed great courage and resolution, disputing every Field with their numerous Enemies, and coming to the But-end of their Muskets, and Push of Pike with them, covering the Field, where they stood, with their Bodies. The King in person charged in one of the Sallies from the Town, shewing extraordinary Valour, Conduct and Courage; in which Charge, Duke *Hamilton*, Brother to the Duke that was beheaded, was shot, and died suddenly after of his Wound. But towards the Evening, the *English*, charging most furiously, with *Cromwell* in the head of them, enter'd with the retreating *Scots* into the Town, and possessed themselves of the Fort Royal: Then it was the King, with the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earl of *Derby*, and some others, and about sixty Horse fled, being narrowly mis'd by *Cobbet*; but the Foot falling to plunder the Town, (which they did with great barbarity) kept out the Horse, for fear they should share with them, which favoured his Majesties Escape, who got that night to *White-Ladies*, where he was disguised, and all the rest departing several ways, he was committed to the fidelity of the *Pendrills*, being in the disguise of a Wood-Cutter, with a Bill in his hand, and for some time lay hid in the Celebrated *Oak* in *Boscomb Wood*: thence conveyed to Mr. *Whitegrave's* at *Mosely*, whence, as a Servant to Mrs. *Jane Lane*, he went to *Bristol*,

Bristol: but missing a passage there, after many signal Marks of God's Providence, in his miraculous Escape, at least fifty several persons having been made privy to it, he at last, with the Lord *Wilmot*, embarked at *Brighton* in *Sussex*, and was carried over by one *Titerfell*, Master of the Vessel, who afterwards was a Captain of one of his Majesties Frigats, and got safe to *Diep* in *France*, to the great joy of all his Friends.

The Scots lost in this Battel, about two thousand slain upon the place, and in the pursuit, and about eight thousand Prisoners; very few of the Scots got back to *Scotland*, being known by their Tongue, and pick'd up in their return by the Country: most of the Nobility and chiefest Commanders were taken, and carried Prisoners to *London*, with all their Ensigns: many of the chiefest Prisoners of the Nobility were kept in *Windsor-Castle*, till the King's Restoration: the Colours were hanged up in *Westminster-Hall*; and several of the common Soldiers sold to Merchants, and sent away as Slaves to the *Barbadoes*, and other Plantations. *Cromwell* himself in great triumph passes to *London*, being met at *Alton* by the Speaker, and Members of the *Junto*, the Lord Mayor of *London*, and *Steel* their Recorder, who in a flattering Speech applauded his great Achievements, applying to him the words of the Psalmist: *To bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron.*

And now the way to the ambitioned Throne seem'd open, few Obstacles remaining, except the *Junto* themselves, which he had made so odious to the people, by their bloody, tyrannous and arbitrary Actions, that he knew it would be very grateful to them, to have them dissolv'd. *Bretton* was dead in *Ireland*, who had been a great Assistant to him in promoting him; but it was thought he was so true a Commonwealths-man, that he would not have suffered *Cromwell* to have grasped the Scepter, and to have set up himself in the place of the Monarch he had pull'd down; and since he was now able to act himself without his Councils, he was but a Rub out of his way; almost all *Ireland* being subdued, and under

his subjection; *Ludlow* being Lieutenant General of the Army there, and one active in the reducing the Remainder left unfinished by *Ireton*. On the other hand General *Monk*, whom he had left in *Scotland* with seven thousand men, had taken *Sterlin*, *Dundee*, *Perth*, and all the strong Holds in *Scotland*; *S. Andrews*, *Aberdeen*, and all the Castles surrendred upon Summons; so that *Scotland* as well as *Ireland* was at his devotion; and three Kingdoms he hoped to make a prey of: and to make them more sure, and to unite them into one, they enter'd upon the project of having each Kingdom incorporated with *England*, like *Wales*, by causing them to elect their severall Members to sit in the *English* Parliament. And now that he might yet make the *Junto* more odious, he puts them on the ordinary Drudgery, of taking away the lives of such of the Royal Party, as he thought might be any hinderance to his Designs, by their arbitrary way of Tryal, in their High Court of Injustice, or by a Court-Marshal; and thus, as the saying is, he killed two Birds with one Stone, rid his Opposers out of the way, and made his Instruments odious, that he might with the more safety lay them aside, when he saw his time.

The Earl of *Derby* was the first that felt the bloody severity of these Rulers at *Westminster*, who appointed a Court-Marshal to sit at *Chester* for his Tryal, and several others that were taken at the Battel of *Worcester*; where he was sentenced to be beheaded, tho he had surrendred himself upon Articles, and promise of his life to one Captain *Edge*; but notwithstanding his plea, the arbitrary Court condemn'd him, and he was executed at *Bolton* in *Lancashire*, the fifteenth of *October*, 1651. And by the same Court, Sir *Timothy Featherstone-baugh* was condemned, and for the same crime of Loyalty, for endeavouring to bring in *Charles Stewart*, (as they called the King) and to possess him (of his Right) the Crown of *England*, who was beheaded at *Chester*, the twenty second day of the same month: likewise by the same Court, Captain *Benbow* was condemned, and according to their Sentence shot to Death at *Shrewsbury*.

And

And Captain *Symkins* in another place. Many more of
more were put into the Tower, and reserved for a further
Exercise of their Cruelty.

And now the way to the Crown did not seem very
Difficult, for *Jerry*, *Iste of Man*, and the *Barbadoes* yield
to their Power; and *Oliver* in the next place bent all
his thoughts to turn this *Rump* of a *Parliament* out of
Doors, having done with them as much Mischief as he
well could: He looks now very big upon them; and had
thewn by his behaviour, the Resentment he had of their
former sawcy Expostulation of his management of the Af-
fairs in *Scotland*, and when he came into the House they
all Crouch'd, and the fauning Speaker made his *Panegy-
rick*, with palpable Flattery; notwithstanding it was
moved in the House, by some of his Creatures, that this
House should be dissolved, and Care taken for another
to be Chosen; but this was a bitter Potion they knew not
how to swallow. And upon this the *Levellers* are again
set to work and Countenanced, who before were so much
Cry'd down, that they might bait them to a Dissolution;
and that he might be Lord Paramount in *Nomine*, as well
as he was already in *Re*. But yet there were two Obsta-
cles in his Way: The first was, the Duke of *Gloucester*
was too near him, he was yet a Prisoner in *Scarborow* Ca-
stle; him he causes to be removed, and sent away into
Holland; which was done by the order of the *Junto*, to
the no small joy of his Friends, that he had escaped out
of the cruel Claws of these Bears with Life. This rub-
bing removed, another more Difficult appeared, which
was the War with *Holland*, and he very Rationally con-
cluded, it would be too hard a Task for him, to
make War both abroad with them and at home
with his own Common-wealth, which he intended
to pull down: Considering what a small share he had
of the Love of the people, and that he was to set up
himself, and Establish his rule and Arbitrary Sway, by
the Power of the Army only: and for this Reason, he
was forced to let his Journey-men continue their Seats a
little longer, and wait the Issue of this War.

This War being foreseen, to quier the Peoples minds, they pass an Act of Grace or Oblivion, a Pardon for all Hostilities past, with an Intention of forgetting all Injuries, but upon Condition, of taking an Ingagement, which they imposed upon the People, wherein they promise and Ingage, *To be true and Faithful to the Commonwealth of England, as then Established, without King or House of Lords.* But out of this Act, The Lord Goring and his Sons, *St. John Webster*, The executors of the *Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, and the Murtherers of *Dorians* and *Ascham* were excepted.

Still several Addresses, Petitions, Declarations, and Desires, came from divers Counties, and Places, to the *Parliament*, for the putting a Period to their sitting, and for providing for future Representatives, which Perplexed them; and were very distastful; seeing them so pressing, and after many put offs, and Reasons for their Continuance, they were forced to comply, and resolved that the longest Day of their Sitting should be the 5th. of November, in the Year, 1654. two years too long, as *Cromwell* thought; for he intended their Reign should be shorter, but his Projects being not yet Ripe, he awaited his opportunity. About the latter end of this year, they made an Act to banish *John Lilburn*, who was very troublesome to them, and whom it seems *Oliver* was much afraid of, knowing him to be an Enemy to his Ambitious Proceedings, and very popular. It was provided by this Act, that if he returned without leave from the State, he should suffer as a Felon.

Preparations for War being made on both sides, the States of *Holland*, seeing the *English* make an Act so Prejudicial to their Trade, and to prepare to maintain it against them, being somewhat fearful of the Event, sent over their Embassadors, *Myn Hetren Cate, Vander-Peer, Sharp*, and *Newport*, who found our *English* States very high, and made such demands, that the *Dutch* could not yield to, and so in the beginning of the year 1652 they get their Fleets to Sea, well Man'd and Equipped, *Margen Harpers Vantrump*, being the Admiral for the *Dutch*.

Popham

Popham being Dead, *Dean* and *Blake* are Admirals for the *English*, to whom afterwards *General Monk* was joyned, and for that end sent for out of *Scotland*, he having quieted all things there. The *Dutch* knowing the *English* laid claim to the Dominion of the narrow Seas, as their just Right and Due, had Commanded their Captains not to acknowledge their Sovereignty, by denying to strike their Flag, at the meeting of the *English* Ships in their own Seas, an Affront they knew would never be put up by the *English*, but ever was and ever will be disputed and revenged; upon this Quarrel the War began, Captain *Young* who commanded some of the *English* Frigors, seeing some *Dutch* Ships returning from the Streights, commanded their Admiral to strike his Flag, who did so, but their Vice-Admiral being likewise bid to do the same, absolutely refused, but after four or five Broad-sides was forced to take it down, and so they parted, their Embassadors being yet in Treaty, and in *England*; Captain *Young* was unwilling to Prosecute the business any farther, lest they should attribute to him the beginning of the War, which thus first began. But not long after they fell to it in Earnest. It shall not be my Task to give you a particular of this War, it being besides my Business, in which the *English* shewed great Courage, and Bravery; and in all Histories the like not to be parallel'd, and therefore I shall not altogether pass it over in silence, but briefly touch upon it for the Satisfaction of the Reader, who cannot but be pleased at their Success as *English-men*, tho otherwise Rebels to their King and Countrey.

The first Engagement between the two Fleets of the two States, was on the 19th. of May 1652; off of *Dover* Road, *Tromp* having forty two Ships, *Blake* but fifteen Frigors, but after the fight was begun, Captain *Bourne* came to his Assistance with eight Ships more, this fight lasted from two of the Clock till Night; the *English* getting the better, having not one Ship disabled, tho they had on both sides Exchanged above two Thousand Cannon shot, one of the *Dutch* Ships was Sunk, and an-

other taken : the next Morning *Van-Trump* sailed for *Zealand*. The *Holland* Embassadors were yet in *London*, and dis-avow *Tromp's* Action in disputing the Flag, as Rash and without Orders, or knowledge of their Masters ; and desired a Restitution of their Ship, but the people were so inflamed at the Relation of *Tromp's* Carriage, that the Embassadors were fain to be Guarded to keep them safe from the Peoples rage : And upon this the *Holland* States dispatch away an extraordinary Embassador, *Myn Heer-Paw*, to endeavour to make up the Breach, and to Excuse the rashness of their Admiral. The Parliament hereupon Voted ; that , *The States General should Pay the Charges they had been at, and the Losses sustained upon this Occasion. Secondly, That this being Paid, there should be a Restitution on either side of Ships and Goods taken. Thirdly, That a League should be made between the two States.* These Votes were sent to the *Dutch* Embassadors, and they Communicated them to their Masters ; who liking them not, immediately recalled their Embassadors, and began Vigorously to prosecute the War.

Admiral *Blake* with seventy Ships sails to the *Orkney* Islands, to disturb their *Busses* fishing upon our Coasts, and *Sr. George Ascue* coming from the *Barbadoes*, with fifteen Ships is recruited and fitted for a reserve. In the mean time *Tromp* gets to Sea with a hundred and twenty Ships, and endeavours to engage with *Blake*, but a Storm preventing them, they were forced both Home : *Blake* carrying with him about nine hundred Prisoners, which he had taken, and six men of War, which he took Guarding their *Busses*, This was the first Action after the War was declared.

The second Engagement between these two States , was on the 16th. of *August* following, off of *Plimouth*, between *Sr. George Ascue*, who had forty sail, and *De Ruyter* who had a Fleet of fifty men of War ; and was conveying thorow the Channel their Merchant men which were about fifty sail more. *Sr. George* engaged the *Dutch* , with nine of his foremost Ships , and Charged thorow their Fleet : the *Dutch* had the Weather-gage, and night coming on, and the rest of the
Fleet

Fleet not coming up, *Sr. George Ascue* drew off and sailed for *Plymouth*, and the *Dutch* into the *French Ports* to repair their Ships. *Sr. George* had the better of it, and had the whole Fleet engaged, it was thought he might have had an entire Victory. This was so represented to the *Rump* to his disadvantage, that they laid him aside, and never after would employ him in their Service, but then *General Monk* was sent for, and Voted by the *Junto* to be joyned in Commission with *Blake* and *Dean*. This was the second fight with the *Dutch* in this War. About this time *Blake* lighting on the *French* at *Calis* took seven of their Ships, and assisting the *Spaniards* besieging *Dunkirk*, was a cause of the surrender of the Town by the Service he did.

On the 28th. of *October* was a Third fight, between the *English* and the *Dutch*, *Van-Tromp* upon some discontent having laid down his Commission, they made *Wit Wittens* Admiral, to whom they joyned *De Ruiter*: *Blake* had taken from the *Dutch* five west *India* Ships of great Value, and six *Streights* men Valued at 200000 *l*, which losses enraged the *Dutch*, and put them into Fury to fight. *Pin* was Vice-Admiral, and *Bourn* Rear-Admiral of the *English* Fleet, who began this Battel; great Courage being shown on both sides: the Rear Admiral of the *Dutch* was taken, two of their Ships sunk, and a Third blown up; the *English* getting the better, *Wittens* got off with his Fleet, much shatter'd and Torn, being pursued within twelve Leagues of the *Maze*; and *Blake* returns into the *Downs* Victorious, having made the *Dutch* run for it.

The *Dutch* much troubled at this misfortune, perswade *Van-Tromp* to accept of the Command, knowing him to be an able Seaman; who at last yielded to their Desires, and hopes to gain honour against the *English*: with eighty men of War, and ten fire Ships, he comes to the back of the *Godwin*. *Blake* had with him now not above forty sail, yet with them resolves to give Battel, and seeking his Enemy began a most furious and obstinate encounter, on the 29th. of *November* 1652. which lasted from two in the Morning till six at Night. *Blake* in the
Triumph,

Tryumph, with two more of his Ships were ingaged at one time with twenty of the best Ships of the *Dutch*. *Van-Tromp* and *De Ruyter* were much shattered; one of their Flag ships was blown up, but the *Dutch* over-powering them, got the Victory, and had not Night favoured the retreat of the *English* Fleet they had endanger'd the whole. The *Garland* and *Bona-venture* were taken by the *Dutch*, three sunk, and one burnt. *Van-Tromp* kept the Sea, and took some inconsiderable Prizes; which pufft him up with so much Vanity, as to cause him hang a Broom at his main top Mast; saying he would sweep the Seas of the *English* Ship. This was the fourth Engagement.

The maintaining of this War against the potent *Dutch*, gained such Reputation to these *English* States, as they were called, that the *French* by the Advice of *Mazereen*, sent *Monsieur Bourdeaux* as an Agent from the *French* King, to acknowledge them. This Action of the *French* gave great distaste to all the King of *England*'s Friends, but this Peace with *England* preserved the *Cardinal*, being in some danger from the Princes of *France*. And now to maintain this War the *Funto* lay a heavy Tax upon the People of 120000 l. a Month.

Monk and *Dean* being come out of *Scotland* are joyned with *Blake*, and the Fleet equipping with all Expedition; which the *Dutch* States hearing of, sent away to *Van-Tromp*, who was at Sea; Conducting home three hundred sail of Merchant men, with seventy six men of War; and Commanded him to Block up the *Thames*, to hinder the *English* Fleet from coming forth; but to their great Amazement, the *English* got their Ships to Sea, and joyning those at *Portsmouth* made up eighty sail, and over against *Portland* lay half Seas over expecting the *Dutch*. On the 18th. of *February* they discry'd them, and about eight in the Morning the fight began. *Blake* and *Dean* who were in the *Tryumph*, with twelve Ships more, encounter'd the Gros of the *Dutch* Fleet; but was relieved at last by *Lawson*, who performed his part exceeding Well. The Ship in which General *Monk* was, being a slow Sailor could not so soon come up to engage

as he would have had it, but he had a great share in the Fight, and lost many men aboard her. This Fight lasted three days, and the *Triumph* wherein two of the Generals were, received seven hundred Cannon shot in their Hull. The next day being *Saturday*, and the nineteenth of *Feb.* 1652. as soon as the *English* could overtake the *Dutch*, they engaged them again in the Afternoon, which was fought with much fury, *Tromp* still endeavouring to save his Merchant Men, fought retreating, putting them before him; but spite of his teeth he lost many of them, which were picked up by the *English*, with some of his Men of War. The third day in the Morning, being the twentieth, the fight was again renewed, and continued very fierce till four in the Afternoon; but the Wind being cross to the *English*, *Van Tromp* got at last to *Callais* Sands, and so tyed it home. The *Dutch* lost in the three days Fight eleven Men of War, and thirteen Merchants Ships, and had killed about fifteen hundred Men. The *English* lost but one Ship, but had not many less slain than the Enemy. This was the fifth Engagement in which the *English* got much the better. About this time they erected their High Court of Justice in *Ireland*, by which many of the *Irish* suffered; among the rest the noted Rebel Sir *Phelim Omal* was hanged at *Dublin*.

The year 1652 being worn out, and the *Dutch* being by their several losses humbled, the King's Party crushed and impoverished, now the Tax for the maintenance of the *Dutch* War coming in, and filling the Treasury, 120000 pounds every month, the State owned by the *French*, and himself caressed privately by *Mazareen*, with whom he had secret intelligence; but what was more, the arbitrary *Junto* perfectly hated by the People, he thought it now a convenient time to step into the Throne, and to usurp the supreme Power and Authority, and to take the Government into his own hands. To this end, he holds several Consults with the Officers of the Army, and much fasting and praying there was among them, an extraordinary Work being to be done.

Cromwell

Arbitrary Government

Cromwell cajol'd them all; *Lambert* was deceiv'd in his hopes of succeeding *Oliver*, which he had made him to believe he intended. *Harrison* was for pulling these old Representatives out of their Seats, to make way for the Rule of the Saints. *Cromwell* knew how to please them all, that he might by them work his ends. All the Party *Harrison* could make among the Congregations of *Feak*, *Rogers*, *Simson*, and the rest of that Gang, were for *Cromwell*, and all impatient to have the Parliament outed: and to help forward, there came forth dayly from the Army, Petitions, Addresses, Remonstrances, and such like Papers, for putting an end to this Parliament. But notwithstanding all the specious pretences, for the putting an end to this Parliament, many of the Officers very well perceived the drift of *Cromwell*, and what all would end in, *viz.* his getting the Monarchy into his own hands, which troubled them much; and some of them made open protests against it; for they that could not endure the Rule of a single person, in their Lawful Prince, could much less endure to be tyrannized over by the arbitrary power of their equal. The chief of them that opposed his design, were Collonel *Vinables*, Scout-Master-General *Downing*, Major *Streater* and others; *Streater* went about to give his Reasons to the contrary, telling them that *Cromwell* design'd to set up himself, and that it was a betraying of their most glorious Cause, for which so much Blood had been spilt: but *Harrison* interrupted him, and told him, that he was assured, the General did not seek himself in it, and did it to make way for the Rule of *Jesus*, that he might have the Scepter. To whom *Streater* replied, That unless Christ came very suddenly, he would come too late. For this opposition, *Cromwell* looks on him as his mortal Enemy, and claps him up into the Gate-House. The *Junto* was very sensible of these Actings, but knew nor which way to prevent them, yet they did what they could to make these Officers understand the inconveniences that would happen, by a sudden dissolving them, and that it would be the only way to preserve the Nation, to fill up the House with
new.

new elected Members, which would please the people, and their Acts would be received with greater Authority. But the Army answered them, they were grown so carnal and corrupt, that the people of God could expect no good from them, and that they would take care, that the supreme Government of the Land should be placed in the hands of such as truly feared God, and were of approved integrity.

These Debates between the *Parliament* and the Army spun out some time, and the *Funto* went about cunningly to secure themselves, by preparing an Act for the filling up their House, wherein such speed was made, that it was near passing the House. *Cromwell* being nettled, resolves to stay no longer; and to his Council of Officers he shewed, That if they should let the people to chuse new Representatives, it was a tempting of God, who would save them by the hands of a few, as in former times, and that five or six godly upright men might do more in one day, than the *Parliament* had done, or would do in a hundred. Upon this he takes with him *Lambert*, *Harrison*, and about eight more Officers of the Army, and on the three and twentieth day of *April*, 1653, he enters the House, and there after a short Speech, shewing them some reasons for the necessity of their being dissolved, he peremptorily declared them to be dissolved. But the Speaker refusing to leave the Chair, *Cromwell* began to huff, and fall into a passion, telling them they were a company of drunkards, whoremasters, Hypocrites, Knaves and Oppressors, and commanded that the Bauble the Mace should be took from them, and no more carried before them; and *Harrison* taking the Speaker by the Arm, lifted him out of his Chair, and having thus turned them out of doors, he lock'd them up, and set a Guard of Soldiers at them, and at all the Avenues, that they might not meet again in that place; and thus *exunt Tyranni*, one Devil driving out another, to make way at last for their Lawful Prince. This done, *Cromwell* returning to his Council of Officers, told them of his Exploit, and let them know that now they must go hand in hand

hand with them, and justify it by their lives and fortunes, they having advised him to it. He told them, that when he went to the House, he did not think to do it, but perceiving the Spirit of God so strongly upon him, he would no longer consult Flesh and Blood; for the Parliament intended to have perpetuated themselves. This Action of his, tho arbitrary, illegal, and tyrannical, was generally applauded by all sorts of people, these *Rumpers* were grown so very odious by their tyrannick Usurpation. And the King's Friends both at home and abroad, were not a little joyful to see this Turn, and to behold them dethroned and trampled on, even in the midst of their Laurels, obtained for their Victories over the *Dutch*. Grievous Muttering they kept for this violence done to them by their Servant, as they stiled him, thinking it none, when he did the like to those secluded Members, that would not vote with them against the King: but as mad as they were, they saw no help for it, and it was not possible for them to get together, tho they would not own themselves dissolved; and thus our usurping *Junto* went out like a Snuff, with a Stink, smelling very unfavourably in the Nostrils of the whole Nation.

Thus far have I traced out to you, the Lines of the Image of Arbitrary, and Tyrannick Usurpation, and how ugly and grim a Representation it is, you who have seen it truly delineated may judge. You have seen this Titular Parliament unjustly seize upon the Government, by murdering their King, and against all Laws thrust out two of the States of the Land, the Lords Spiritual first, and then the Lords temporal, and having now grasp'd the Government with rapacious hands, with the like Injustice and Arbitrariness, turn the greater part of their own Members out of Doors, and rule by a few bloody and tyrannical Usurpers. You have likewise seen after what manner they have swayed the three Nations, by their own Arbitrary Wills and Pleasures, as so many lawless Tyrants, upholding an Army only to cut the Peoples Throats, and to over-awe them, burthening them with Taxes, and oppressing them with a standing Army, and free

free Quarter, taking away their lives by an Arbitrary Court of Justice, contrary to the known Laws of the Land, and robbing and spoiling all men of their Estates, that opposed them, filling the Jayls thorowout the three Kingdoms with Prisoners: The Liberties of the Subject overthrown, *Magna Charta*, and all the Laws and Ancient Constitutions of *Parliaments* trodden under foot, and disregarded, so as no man could call any thing his own: And in fine, all the People of *England* made Slaves, by these the *Keepers of their Liberties*; so that it was no wonder, that there was a general rejoycing at their fall; tho as yet it was but out of the Frying-pan into the Fire, having exchanged two hundred Tyrants for one, as Lawless, Boundless, and Arbitrary as they; or a *Rump* for an *Oliver*.

I should now proceed to give a further Display of this Arbitrary and Tyrannical Government, under the Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*, who had pull'd these down, only to set up himself: but before I enter upon it, I think it will not be ungrateful to the Reader, and not impertinent to my Design, to shew you what a sort of men these were, who had thus long usurped, by a brief Character of some of the chiefest of them, and what benefit they made of their pretended Godliness, giving one another Estates, out of the Kings, Queens, Bishops, Deans and Chapters, and Delinquents Lands.

And I will begin with *Oliver Cromwell*, the *Lucifer* of the rest, who out-witted them all, and ruled by himself, with greater Power, and more absolute Sway, than ever any Monarch of *England* did. He was very well descended, of a Knightly Family, in the County of *Huntington*, being born in *S. John's* Parish in the Town of *Huntington*, the twenty fifth of *April*, 1599, being the Son of *Mr. Robert Cromwell*: who was the third Son of *Sir Henry Cromwell*, a Gentleman of great worth, honored and beloved in Court and Country, whose eldest Son *Sir Oliver Cromwell*, a Gentleman well known for his Loyalty, and Uncle to this our *Oliver*, was his God-father, and gave him his Name. His Mother was the

Daughter of Sir Richard Steward, of Ely. They therefore were much mistaken, who said he was the Son of a Brewer, tho' indeed his Mother, (even in his Father's Life-time) did manage a Brew-House, by their Servants, and after her Husbands death, continued the same, as an honest means of Livelyhood, the Patrimony of a younger Brother being but small. He was observed in his Youth to be ambitious, willful and head-strong, which improved with his years, and always, and upon all occasions exercised the Impostor, under the mask of Hypocrisie. However, he was bred at School, where he got some smattering in the Rudiments of Learning, but was so violent and head-strong, and so very prone to robbing Orchards and Dove-Houses, that he grew the terror of the Country, and past his Tutor's Correction. It was about that time he dream'd he should be King of England; if it were not more than a Dream, a suggestion of some evil Spirit; for he would often confidently report it in his Youth, tho' rebuked by his Father for it, and lash'd by his Master Dr. Bernard, for his constant avouching it. And acting in a Play in the School, going beyond his Cue, he took a Crown, and put it on his own Head, and as if inspired, spake some big words with great authority. Thence he was translated to Cambridge, where he was more noted for Foot-ball, Cudgelling, and Wrestling, than for his Studies, to which he little gave his mind; and after his Father's death left the University, and returning home, fell to all manner of Licentiousness and Debauchery, and grew so distastful to his Mother and Neighbourhood, that she sent him away to London, and enters him into *Lincolns-Inn*, intending to make him a Lawyer; but finding this place not agreeable to his humor, he staid not long before he returned back into the Country, where he fell to his old Trade of Debauchery, always fighting, and in Quarrels, tho' with Pedlars, Tinkers, and such like Fellows, skillful in handling the Quarter-Staff, so that none could over-match him. This kind of life he led till he had spent his Patrimony, and almost ruined his Mother; hated by the
Country

Country for his many Villanies committed, especially by his Uncle and God-father *Sr. Oliver*, who could not endure to have him named. At last beginning to perceive his ruin, he feigned a Conversion; went to Church among the orthodox Divines; and so far insinuated himself with them, that they deal with his Mothers Uncle *Sr. Robert Stewart*, a Gentleman of a Competent Estate in the Country, to take him into Favour, and to declare him his Heir, and who dying soon after, left him an Estate of five hundred pound a year; which quickly mouldred away, he having left of it not above forty or fifty Pounds a year. He then falls in with the Non-conformist Ministers; entertains them at his House, has Lectures, and exercises himself in Preaching and Praying, about which time he marries the Daughter of *Sr. James Boucher*; her name *Elizabeth*, and Kins-woman to *Mr. Hambden* of *Buckinghamshire*, and turns Farmer for five years with ill success, but still continuing his Preaching and Praying, was so much follow'd by the Faction; that they by a wile got him to be chosen a Burgess, for *Cambridge*, in the *Parliament* of 1640. when he was at his last Gasps, and thinking to have Transplanted himself to *New-England*, and raised Money for that purpose, which enabled him to stand a Candidate for *Parliament* man. And now joyning with *Hambden*, *Pym*, and the rest of them, he began to blow up the Coals of Sedition; and to be noted amongst them, tutored by them, till he grew quickly able to out-Wit them in their own Pernicious designs. But now having spent the utmost farthing of his Estate, and run in Debt, he was privileged from Arrests, by being a Member of *Parliament*; and now he betakes him into the Army, where he was a Captain under *Essex*, and where he became so Active and busie, that he soon advanc'd himself, to be Lieutenant General to the Earl of *Manchester*.

I crave Pardon of the Reader for this Digression, for I intend not to write his Life, but what I have related, may let you see what this great Man was *ab origine*, and therefore I shall say no more of his Actions in the Army,

my, they being sufficiently known in Story, and how gradually he came to his Command of General, in the Army; part of which, as far as came within my Province that I have undertook, appears by the foregoing Discourse, whereby it is plainly manifested, by what Methods he attained his Greatness and Usurpation. I could say no less of this their Ring-Leader, who deserves a more particular Character, being so Notorious throughout Christendom, and Famous for his Actions and Usurpation; I shall not be so prolix in the rest, but only name them to you. They say his Family descended from a branch of that *Cromwell*, in *Henry the 8th.* dayes, who ruined the *Abbies*, and was fatal to the *Papish* Clergy, as this was to the *Protestant* *Episcopacy*; and that the Lineal descent, was from one *Williams* of *Glamorgan-shire*, who marrying the Daughter of that *Cromwell*, took on him the Name and transfer'd it to his Posterity; but the direct Line of that *Cromwell*, is continued in the Lord *Cromwell*, and Earl of *Arglass* in *Ireland*. This our *Oliver* was a man, (as you have found by what I have related of him) of many Vices, of deep Dissimulation and Hypocrisie, and tho' no great Schollar, of great improved Parts; of a strong robust Constitution, and naturally Martial, of deep reach, and a great Politician, after he had Convers'd with *Bretton* his Son-in-Law, who taught him his Art. He had some Spice of Generosity in him, which he shewed on some Occasions, whether it was in his Nature, or Designedly, is to be doubted. But for his Courage and Resolution, and skill in Martial Discipline, that is not to be questioned; and tho' I cannot think he really embraced any Religion, as his particular Judgment, yet he embraced all that he found subservient to his Ends, as may be perceived by his Actions and Intreagues, with the *Presbyterians* and *Independants*, and all the other Sectaries, which were all alike to him; and no doubt *Episcopacy* it self, would have been as pleasing to his Conscience, could he have Established his Usurpation by it. It was not therefore his Love of Vertue or Religion, that made him thrust out all Vice from his Army; but that he

knew

knew it would naturally ruin it, and that a strict Discipline, and the Face of some Religion, would preserve it; so that he never permitted among his Souldiers, Swearing, Drunkenness, Profaneness, Murther, Rapine, or Uncleaness; but punishing them Severely, his Camp was like a well regulated Common-wealth, and had he not been a Rebel, and employed his Parts to so wicked an end, as the Destruction of his King and Country; for the setting up himself, he might have passed among the Worthies of this Nation, and lawfully have become eminent in his Generation. He had two Sons, *Richard* and *Henry* (besides one that dyed young) and four Daughters, one married to *Ireton*, afterwards to *Glisterwood*, one to the Lord *Fawkenbridge*, one to Mr. *Cleypool*, which he much lov'd, and was his second Daughter, and one to the Lord of *Warwicks* Grand-child Mr. *Rich*, which was his youngest. *Cromwell* as well as the rest had a share in the Spoil, before he came to grasp all into the Paws of his Protector-ship, to which we have brought him; but we now consider him as a *Rumper*, and by an Ordinance of that Parliament was conferred on him, out of the Marquess of *Worcester's* Estate 2500. pounds a year; a good Competency, tho some say the said Lands so settled upon him, at their improved Vallue, were worth to him five Thousand if not six Thousand pounds a year; besides four or five pound a day coming in as Lieutenant General, and Collonel of Horse in the Army.

Ireton the Scribe, as some called him, being excellent at drawing Declarations, Petitions, and such like things, to serve his politick Ends, was a man of a deep Reach, of much Dispatch, of very dexterous and able Parts, he was *Cromwell's* right Hand, and was a great Contriver of his greatest Designs, and Stratagems; He was a Common-wealth's man of the truest Stamp, and it is thought, had he lived, *Cromwell* had not assumed that Power to himself, which he had helpt him to mount to, by destroying the Government, which Advantage, *Cromwell* after his death laid hold on: He married *Cromwell's* eldest Daughter, and tho poor before the Wars, liv'd very Splendidly,

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splendidly kept his rich Coach, gilt, that cost two hundred pounds; and four gallant Horses: He lick'd his Fingers with the rest, and had he liv'd, no doubt, had got more; he died at *Limrick* in Ireland, of the Plague, being Deputy there, and was brought over into England, and by the *Junto* buried in great Pomp.

William Lenthall, the Speaker of this House of Commons, had at one time given him by the House six thousand pounds for his good services, besides, as Speaker, he got two thousand pounds *per annum*; and as Master of the *Rolls*, three thousand pounds *per annum*, more; besides Sales of Offices. And then he was for some time Chamberlain of *Chester*, Chancellor of the Duchy of *Lancaster*, worth to him one thousand two hundred and thirty pounds *per annum*; and one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, worth fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*.

Buesbrode Whitlocke, Commissioner of the Great Seal, worth to him fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*; and had two thousand pounds given him out of Mr. *Minn's* Estate.

Edmond Prideaux, once a Commissioner of the great Seal, worth to him fifteen hundred pounds a year. Then by order of the *Junto* afterwards, he was permitted to practise within the Bar, as the King's Council, worth to him five hundred pounds *per annum*; was also Post-Master General, worth to him a hundred pounds ever Wednesday night, and his Supper; the Earl of *Warwick* had the benefit of foreign Letters, which was worth to him five thousand pounds *per annum*.

Oliver S. Jones, Solicitor to the King, afterwards made Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and was one of their Embassadors to *Holland*, he had the passing of all Pardons upon Commissions, worth to him forty thousand pounds: he was called *The Dark Lamborn-Man*, a knowing Man in the Laws, and had the wit to keep out of danger, being against the putting the King to death, but a great *Privado* of *Oliver's*, to whom he preferred his man *Thurlo*, who was his Secretary when he went Ambassador, and became afterwards *Oliver's* Secretary.

cretary of State: he died at *utrecht* in *Holland*, since the King came in, being favourably looked upon by his Majesty, and honored for his parts.

Roger Hill, a Barrester of the *Temple*, of no Practice, and little Estate, till this Parliament, had from the House the Bishop of *Winchester's* Mannor of *Taunton-Dian*, worth twelve hundred pounds a year after the lives were out.

Humphry Sulway had given him the King's Remembrancer's Place, worth two hundred pounds *per annum*.

Francis Rous was made Provost of *Eaton*, worth six hundred pounds *per annum*, and had a Colledge Lease worth six hundred pounds *per annum*, more.

John Lilse, a Barrester of the *Temple*, was made Master of *S. Crosses*, a place for a Divine, worth eight hundred pounds *per annum*, and afterwards one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal. He was one of the King's Judges, and stabb'd beyond Seas since his Majesties Restoration.

Sir William Allison, an Alderman of *York*, made Clerk of the Hamper, worth a thousand pounds *per annum*, and given to him *Crab-Castle*, worth six hundred pounds *per annum*, more, belonging to the Archbishop of *York*.

Thomas Hoyle, another Alderman of *York*, was made Treasurer-Remembrancer in the Exchequer, worth twelve hundred pounds *per annum*.

Tho. Pury, first a Weaver in *Glocester*, then a Country Solicitor, had given him three thousand pounds, and a place in the petty-Bag Office, worth four hundred pounds *per annum*.

Tho. Pury the younger, Son to the former, was made Receiver of the King's Rents in *Glocester* and *Wiltz*, and Clerk of the Peace of *Glocestershire*, worth two hundred pounds *per annum*, and Captain of Foot and Horse; who at the beginning of the Parliament was a Servant to an Attorney of *Staple-Inn*.

William Ellis made Steward of *Stepney*, worth two hundred pounds *per annum*.

Miles Corbet, at the beginning of the Parliament much

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in debt, made one of the Registers of the Chancery, worth seven hundred pounds *per annum*; besides Chairman for Scandalous Ministers, worth a thousand pounds *per annum*, one of the King's Judges, and afterwards advanced to be a Judge in Ireland: executed at Tyburn since the King came in.

John Goodwin made a Register of Chancery, worth seven hundred pounds *per annum*.

Sir Tho. Widdrington a Commissioner of the Great Seal, worth fifteen hundred pounds *per annum*.

Edward Bish made Garter-Herald, in the place of *Sir Ed. Walker*, worth six hundred pounds *per annum*.

Walter Strickland, Agent in Holland for the two Houses of Parliament, worth to him five thousand pounds.

Nicoolas Love made one of the six Clerks of the Chancery, worth two thousand pounds *per annum*.

Sir Gilbert Gerard was Pay-master to the Army, had three pence *per pound* allowance, worth sixty thousand pounds, and Chancellor of the Dutchy, worth five hundred pounds *per annum*.

John Selden had given him five thousand pounds, *John Bond*, Son of *Dennis Bond*, made Master of Trinity-Hall in Cambridge. *Sir Benjamin Rudiard* given him five thousand pounds. *Lucas Hodges* made Customer of Bristol. *Sir John Hipsly* given him two thousand pounds in money, and made Keeper of three of the King's Parks, Maribone, Hampton and Busby Parks. *Sir Tho. Walsingham* had the Honor of Eltham. To *Benjamin Valentine* given five Thousand pounds. To *Sir Henry Heyman*, 5000 l. *Denzil Hollis*, 3000 l. *Nat. Bacon* 3000 l. *John Stevens* out of the Lord *Astley's* Composition; 1000 l. *Henry Smith* made one of the six Clerks worth 2000 l. *per annum*. *Robert Reynolds* given him 2000 l. besides *Abbingdon-Hall* and Lands worth 4000 l. *per annum*. *Sir John Clotworthy* was made Treasurer for Ireland. *John Ash* given him out of Mr. Coventry's Composition 4000 l. out of *Sir Edward Moseley's* 1000 l. out of Mr. *Phillips's* 1200 l. out of *Sir John Stowells* 8000 l. and Chair-man at Goldsmiths-Hall. *John Lenthall* Son to the Speaker made one of the six Clerks worth

worth 2000 l. per annum. Francis Allin once a Gold-Smith made Customer for London. Giles Green Chair-man for the Navy; Francis Peirpoint had the Lands of the Arch-Bishop of York, lying in Nottinghamshire. William Peirpoint had 7000 l. given him and the Earl of Kingston's personal Estate worth 40000 l. John Palmer made Master of All-Souls in Oxford in Dr. Sheldon's place, a Divine. John Blackstone a Shop-keeper in New-Castle, returned a Burgess and had 3000 l. given him out of one Gentlemans estate, and out of others as much as made up 12000 l. a Colemeters place worth 200 l. per annum: and the Bishop of Durham's Castle at Durham, and Lands to great value. Tho. Cxley long a Prisoner for Debt made Recorder of Bridgwater. To Mr. Scawen given 2000 l. Jsaack Penington once Lord Major of London had 7000 l. given him, and purchased good store of Bishops Lands. Samuel Vassell, 1000 l. given him. Sir Will. Breton had the Arch-Bishops Lands and House at Croydon. Ed. Harvey a Silk-man made a Collonel and had the Bishop of London's House and Mannor of Fulham. Rich. Sulway a Grocer made a Collonel. Joh. Ven a Collonel Governor of Windsor had 4000 l. given him. Phillip Skippon Serjeant Major General of the Army, Major General of London, and Governour of Bristol, had 1000 l. per annum Lands of Inheritance given him. Tho. Westrow had the Bishop of Worcester's Mannor at Hartterow. Sir Arthur Haslerig had the Bishop of Durham's House, Park and Mannor of Auckland, and 6500 l. in money given him. Lord Gray of Grooby had the Queens mannor House, Park and Lands at Holdenby. Sir Will. Constable restored to Lands, sold to Sir Marmaduke Langley worth 25000 l. Sir Will. Purefoy had given him 1500 l. Wal. Long 5000 l. given him. Michael Oldsworth keeper of Windsor Park, and had a share out of Sir Will. Compton's Office, worth 3000 l. a year, divided betwixt him and his Lord. Tho. Scot

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a Brewers Clark had *Lambeth House*. Mr. *Ashurst* 1000 *l.* given him; besides every Member of the House, which was when full 516 Persons, by their own order allow'd themselves 4 *l.* per. week a man, which amounts to 10000 *l.* per annum. They gave to Collonel *H. Hammond* Governour of the Isle of *Wight* for his Table 20 *l.* a week, a 1000 *l.* in money and 500 *l.* a year Land. Collonel *Miton* 5000 *l.* in mony, *Cornelius Hilland* a poor Boy and waited on Sir *Hen. Vain*, when Comptrouler of the Princes House. Made Commissioner for the Revenue of the King Queen and Prince, Farmer of the Kings feeding Grounds in *Buckinghamshire* worth 2000 *l.* per annum at 200 *l.* per annum Rent. Possessor of *Somerset-house*: Keeper of *Richmond House*, Commissioner for the Garrisons of *White-Hall* and the *Mews*, an Office in the *Mint* which enabled him to give 5000 *l.* with his Daughter; this was one of the Kings Judges. Sir *Hen. Vain* Senior, had the Bishop of *Durham's* mannor and Park at *Evenwood*, and had given him 5000 *l.* and was Chair-man of the Kings Queens and Princes Revenue. Sir *H. n. Vain Junior* a subtil Cunning pated Man, a fifth Monarchy-man, he was made Treasurer of the Navy, worth 6000 *l.* a year. Sir *Tho. Trenchard* given him 1200 *l.* He marries his Daughter to a *Malignant*, gives security for the Payment of the portion being 1200 *l.* gets his Son in Law sequestred, discovers the Debt, and hash it given him for his Fidelity to the State: A new way to pay Portions, *Will. Bingham* Governour of *Poole* had 1000 *l.* given him. To Collonel *Joh. Sydenham* 1000 *l.* *Joh. Glyn* Recorder of *London*, was Clark of the *Pells* worth 1000 *l.* per annum: and afterwards Lord Chief Justice. *Joh. Bell* an Apothecary beng intrusted with money was sued and said he could not answer without breath of *Parliament*. Sir *Walter Earl* Collonel of Horse, and Lieutenant of the Ordnance worth in times of Peace 1000 *l.* per annum, in War 5000 *l.* per annum.

Alderman

Alderman Atkins Treasurer at War. *Gregory Clements* a Merchant, and one of the Kings Judges. *John Remles* had given him one thousand five hundred pound out of *Sir John Wonsenbam's* Estate. *Edward Asb* a Woollen-Draper Treasurer for the providing of Cloaths for the Irish Souldiers. *Sir John Danvers* by a Parliamentary proceeding overthrew his Brothers Will, and got the Estate worth 30000 l. *Hen. Herbert*, given him 3000 l. and the Plunder of Ragland Castle. To *Fennick* 500 l. *Gilbert Millington* 1000 l. and Chair-man to the Committee of plundred Ministers. To the two *Darbyes* 5000 l. *Robert Cecil* Son to the Earl of Salisbury Colonel of Horse. Sergeant *Wild* a Judge, a 1000 l. given him after the Hanging of Captain *Burley*, out of the Privy Purse, and it is said he had 1000 l. more after the aquital of Mr. *Rolf* who was accused for an intension of murdering the late King.

Of the City several Aldermen, Common-Council, and others, who had great Benefits by this Parliament some of whom were of it. *John Warner* Lord Major was one of the Treasurers of War; and Treasurer of the receipt of all Monies due upon the Ordinance of 34. August 1643. Treasurer of the loan money: Purchased the Arch-Bishop of York's best House, Castle and Mannor of Caywood. Sir *John Woolfe* Alderman, Treasurer of War, Treasurer for Plate, Treasurer for loan Money, Say-Master of the Mint, Trustee of the sale of Bishops Lands: Purchased the Bishop of London's Land at High-Gate. Alderman *Gibbs* got seven or eight thousand pounds, by melting the Plate and Bodkins at Guild-Hall, one of the Treasurers for 20000 l. to pay the Scots, a Trustee for Bishops Lands and Treasurer for Rents and Monies raised by them.

Alderman *Fowke* a Commissioner for the Customs refused to account upon Oath because of a tender Conscience, Treasurer for the payment of Wagoners, a Trustee for Bishops Lands and Controuler of their Accounts, had first 200 pound per annum, and after by their Additional Ordinance 300 per annum more standing Fee.

Alderman *Pennington* was Lieutenant of the Tower, being intrusted with 6000 pound, discovers it to the Parliament, begs it and had it granted. Alderman *Pack* Commissioner for the Customs Treasurer at War and bought the Bishop of Lincoln's House and Mannor at Bugden.

Alderman *Andrus* Treasurer at War, and Commissioner for the Customs. Alderman *Avery* Commissioner for the Customs: Treasurer for Sequestrations, and Trustee for the sale of Bishops Lands. Alderman *Culham* Commissioner of the Excise worth 1200 pound per annum. Alderman *Foot* the same. Alderman *Edmonds* the same. Owen Roe Lieutenant Colonel and keeper of the Magazine for stores. Alderman *Darby* Treasurer at War With many more too long to be named.

They allowed for their Military Officers, a Colonel of Foot 30 shillings a day

Displayed to the Life.

30 s. day; a Lieutenant Collonel 15 s. a Major 9 s. a Captain 15 s. A Collonel of Horse 30 s. a day for himself, and for six Horses 21 s. a day, a Lieutenant Collonel 15 s. a day for himself, and for six Horses 21 s. a Captain of Horse 24 s. a day, and for six Horses 21 s. a day. A Collonel Lieutenant Collonel and Major received their Captains pay besides. So that it was no wonder so many of the *Parliament* men got Commands in the Army. It was thought that there was near twenty Millions shared in Lands, Revenues, Incomes, and money amongst them. To *Bradshaw* their President of their High Court of Justice, the Kings House and Parks at *Eltham* was given, and to *Bulstrode Whitlock*, *Greenwich*. *Barksted* Lieutenant of the Tower, a poor Goldsmith bought at two or three years purchase as much Bishops Lands as cost 10000 l. Mr. *Boon* who they say had been a Tapster a Member of the House, had given him 6000 l. To *Harry Martin* 3000 l. To *Blackstone's* Wife and Children 3000 l. out of the Earl of *New-Castle* and Lord *Withrington's* Estates: and 500 l. to his brother. Upon the General, out of the Lands of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Estate and his Brothers, the Lord *Francis Villers* 4000 l. per annum. *Clarendon* Park bestow'd on the Earl of *Pembroke*. 4838 l. to the Lord *Lisle*. To *Bradshaw* more 2000 l. Land per annum, and 1000 l. in money. *Cook* for Acting the part of Attorney General against the late King had bestow'd on him *St. Croffes* Hospital. The new Park in *Surrey* bestow'd on the City that they might not want Venison. Collonel *Martin's* account brought into the House 3d. July 1649. his Arrears amounting to 25000 l. order'd him, and 1000 l. per annum Land to be settled upon him and his Heirs. To Collonel *Feilder* 3300 l. To *Scobel* their Clark once a poor Clark in *Chancery*, and wrote for 2d. a sheet, a Pension of 500 l. a year, and an Employment in the sale of publick Lands worth 1000 l. a year: and 6 s. 8d. Fee for every Order taken forth. More given to *Bradshaw*, *Somerhill* belonging to the Earl of *St. Alban's*. To the Lord *Brabill* 2000 l. I am afraid I have tyred my Reader, in going about to enumerate the many Gifts they order'd one to another, but tho I might name much more, this may suffice to shew what this *Parliament* did with the Kingdoms monies, to gratifie one another, and to share the prey among themselves, of the Kingdom, who groaned under Taxes, and of the Kings, Queens, Princes, and Bishops Lands, of Malignants Estates, Composition, Excise, &c. The like never was read in History, and therefore you may not wonder, that these men should be so unwilling to leave their Seats, and disband, but to sit to advantage themselves if they could. By what you have read, it plainly appears also, what sort of men they were, most of them, or very many of them, of the scum of the people, upstarts, of mechanical breedings, sordid, covetous Wretches, Hypocrites, pretending Religion, and making Goldlines their gain. I have done with them, and shall name but one or two more.

Dr. *Dorilaus*, who was Kill'd in *Holland*, had been formerly a poor *School-Master* in *Holland*, whence he came to *Oxford*, and read the *History-Lecture* there, in which he then decry'd *Monarchy*, was complain'd of, and forgiven by the King's Benignity. He then became *Judge-Advocate* in the King's Army, against the *Scots*, and had the like Employ afterwards against the King under *Essex*, and then under *Fairfax*, gaining well in his employment, and by that of drawing up the bloody Charge against the King, for which some Cavaliers (some say *Irish*, others *Scotch-men*, in revenge of *Hamilton's Death*) kill'd him. His Wife and Children had allowances by the *Parliament*: but I cannot here forbear to mention *Haselrig's* bloody proposition upon his Death; who mov'd, That six Gentlemen of the best quality, *Royalists*, might be put to Death in Revenge of *Dorilaus*, to deter men from the like attempt hereafter. This was a *Rumper's* Justice, and may serve for his Character, a blind Zealot, furious, hot-headed, rash, unjust, and an hypocrite; a great *Commonwealths-man*, and an Enemy to *Oliver*.

Harison was a Fifth-Monarchy-man, a great Speaker, after his Canting way, acted with *Cromwell*, till he saw he set up himself instead of King *Jesus*, and his Saints, such as himself; then a stiff Opposer of *Monarchy*, and would again have brought in Anarchy and Confusion; a man of no extraordinary Parts, but resolute and turbulent, ever heading a faction, and dyed impenitent, adhering to his wicked Principles.

Lambert was a good Soldier, had a great designing head, Ambitious, but outwitted by *Cromwell*, of great Power in the Army, and beloved by the factious Sectaries; some have thought he was then a *Papist*, (for he prov'd one since) and carried on the *Jesuits* designs.

Fleetwood was a person of a pretended great Devotion, but of a secret and violent Ambition, and it was thought glad of *Richard's* fall, hoping to succeed, but fool'd by *Lambert*, as well as formerly by *Cromwell*;

and though General, had not the resolution of a man in his place, and therefore called the meek Knight. Jones was a flattering Sycophant. Desborow a sordid Clown. Pride an upstart Dray-man. Hewson a Valiant Cobler. Whaly a Merchant. Sir Henry Mildmay an unworthy Turncoat and Rebel. The rest much of the same stamp. They had their Clergy too of the same Cloth, as the Post-Priest *Vavasor Powel*, the Fool *Cradoek*. The Incendiary *John Goodwin*. Love, Jenkins, of both sorts *Presbyterians* and *Independents*, who served their turns, to trumpet forth Sedition to the People, and to extoll their Acts, for which they shared in the prey: But above all the rest, was the notorious and blasphemous wretch, Pander and Buffoon, *Hugh Peters*; and because he was Chaplain in Ordinary to two great Potentates, *Lucifer* and *Oliver Cromwell*, I care not if I give you a little larger account of the man.

His Father was a Minister of the Church of *England*, living near *Foy* in *Cornwall*, where his Son *Hugh* was born, and bred up by him at School, instructed well in the Principles of the Protestant Religion, sent thence to *Cambridge*, and admitted into *Jesus College*, but was soon Expelled the University for his lascivious life: He gets to *London*, and there turns Player in *Shakespeare's Company*, usually acting the Jester or Fool; but weary of that, by means of a Gentleman he became acquainted with, he got a Free-School, with the Stipend of 24 *l.* a year, at the Gentleman's dispose in *Essex*. After some time this Pedant, growing familiarly acquainted with a Gentlewoman near, who liked his Drolling discourse, and used to entertain him, being one that had an Estate, he so ordered his business, that he one night surprised her in Bed, and getting in to her, had a Comrade that came and surprised them, before the struggling Gentlewoman could get forth of his Arms, who saluting them Man and Wife, caused the trepanned Woman, to avoid the shame, to consent to marry him. After this he takes Holy Orders, and was by

Doctor

Doctor Mountaine, Bishop of London, Ordained Priest and Deacon, giving the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to him, which he took. And now beginning to Preach, he grows popular; and was much applauded among the females, whom he ever sought to please, so that he got to be *Lecturer* of St. Sepulchres in London, and continued there near Twenty years. Here he turns *Independent*, and his Wife being dead, he lead so beastly and scandalous life, that being detected, and prosecuted at Law for many Misdemeanors, he flies over to *Amsterdam*, where continuing the like pranks, he goes at last to *New-England*, where he Marries another Wife; but that not keeping him Chast, he began to grow odious amongst the Brethren; and the Wars then breaking forth in *England*, he returns, and is entertained as a riding Parson in the Army, and at last becomes the *Parliament's* great Zany, Preaching for the Cause, and juggling the Women out of their Thimbles and Bodkins, by which means he became *Oliver's* great *Privado*, and with Ireton was admitted of the *Cabal* in contriving his late Majesty's Death; for which, and his other good Services, being a Col. under *Oliver* in his *Irish* Expedition, he had given him 300 *l.* per annum out of the Lord Worcester's Lands, in the *Woods* in Worcester-shire, and, as they say, the King's Library at St. James's; and was Chaplain in Pay to six Regiments. But at last had a more deserved Reward, an Halter, being taken in *Southwark*, was at last Executed for his Treasons, and dyed like a Sot. I shall conclude with him, and now proceed to the second part of my draught of *Arbitrary Government*, under the Power and Tyranny of that notorious Usurper *Oliver*.

I shall now proceed to the second Act of this Tragical Usurpation, and expose to your view the Tyrannick Usurpation of *Oliver Cromwell*; who now is General of the Armies of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*.

Ireland, had the full and sole Authority, Power and Government, of the Three Nations in his hands. Yet this would not serve his turn, he must have some splendid Title, and Royal Ensigns, to shew he reigned not by the Power of the Sword, which would render him odious to the People, though in effect it was the same thing: But there is much in State and Ceremony, especially where lawful right is not, to give a lustre; and the name of King, with the Ornament of a Crown, is the thing ambitioned, or some thing like it is to be had, if the other could not be obtained. But this is not yet to be reach'd, he must proceed methodically, and like the Tyrant *Richard* the Third, intreated much to accept of what he greatly desired. The first thing *Oliver* does, after he had thrust the *Rump-Parliament* out of doors, was to put forth a Declaration of the Reasons for Dissolving the Long Parliament, who had designed to perpetuate themselves, desiring all good people to seek God for him, that he might not doe any thing to dishonour his Name, and that they should peaceably follow their Vocations, as when the *Parliament* was sitting, and that all Judges, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Bayliffs, and other Civil Officers and Publick Ministers whatsoever, should proceed in their Offices and Places, and that the Writs should run in the same stile as before, of the Keepers of the Liberty of *England*. And then out of his Chief Officers of the Army, and his Confederates, he Creates a Council of State, who were to manage all affairs, till a Parliament could be called. Thus the Laws and Liberties of the People, and the whole Civil State and Government of *England*, depended upon the Sword, and the Arbitrary Will and Pleasure of a General, and some few of his Military Officers. These men, to ingratiate themselves with the people, lessen the Monthly Tax from 120000 *l.* to 90000 *l.* a Month; and to keep fair

fair with the *Presbyterian*, who yet kept up their form of Church-worship, and the most of one publick perswasion, they prohibited all disturbances in the Church, which was then frequent, and the Phanaticks Licentiousness in the Army, which swarmed with *Anabaptists, Ranters, Quakers, Seekers*, and other strange new Lights, and who were set a madding after the possession of the remaining Revenue of Church-Lands, Tythes, Glebe, Impropriations, often addressing to that purpose, as no remains of *Dagon* might be left. *Oliver* at this time also was Courted by the *French Ambassador Burdœ*, in the behalf of his Master, lest he should favour his Rebels, and which he gave him assurance he would not doe, and though solicited on the other side, he would not favour Enemies to Monarchy, already looking upon himself to be a Monarch.

The *Dutch* thought now to take the advantage of these Divisions in *England*, and very early got their Fleet to Sea, but no great Commotion following thereupon at home, they had leasure to look after their Sea-affairs, and getting forth the Fleet under *Blake, Monk* and *Dean*, on the second of *June 1653*, they meet the *Dutch* on the Coasts of *Flanders*, Commanded by *Van Tromp* in chief, and under him the two *Everfons, de Wit*, and *Ruytier*, all stout, expert and able Sea-men. *Pen* was Vice-Admiral of our Fleet, and *Lawson* Rear-Admiral. The *Dutch* had One hundred and four Men of War, Twelve Gallions, and Nine Fire-Ships: the *English* had One hundred Ships of all sorts: *Monk* and *Dean* were in one Ship; the Fight begun about Eleven of the Clock at Noon, and the first Broad-side from the Enemy, carried away General *Dean*, being shot in two by a Cannon Bullet, close by *Monk's* side, who flinging a Cloak over his body, bid the Soldiers to mind their business, and unconcerned apply'd himself

to the Battel, continued with much fury on both sides, as long as they had light. The next morning *Monk* finding himself near the *Dutch*, they again furiously engaged each other; and *Monk* pressed so hard upon them, that he sunk six of their best Ships, and two others were blown up, and eleven Ships taken, and One thousand three hundred and fifty Prisoners; and had not the *Dutch* got upon the Flats near *Calais* and *Dunkirk*, where our great Ships could not come at them, most of their Fleet had been ruined or taken. The *English* had not one Ship lost or disabled; and excepting General *Dean*, but one Captain lost, and about One hundred and fifty Men, and few hurt. General *Blake* came not in till towards the end of the Fight, with Eighteen fresh Ships. This was the sixth Engagement with the *Dutch* in this War.

The *English* Fleet lay before the *Texel* and the *Vly*, and now let the *Dutch* see they were Conquerors; which so humbled them, that they sent away a Vessel with a white Flag for *England*, with a Messenger to prepare way for two Ambassadors to Treat of Peace; however that they might make it on easier terms, they prepare with all speed they can to recruit their Fleet, and on the Twenty-ninth of *July* following, in the morning, the *English* discry them again with One hundred and twenty five Sail of Ships, divided into four Squadrons, under *Tromp*, *Everson*, *Ruyter*, and *Wit Whitsen*. The *English* Fleet consisted of One hundred and six Ships, under the Command of *Monk* in chief, for *Blake* was sick, *Pen* Vice-Admiral, and *Lawson* Rear-Admiral: the Battel began by six in the morning, and continued till night parted them, and the next morning again both fell to it, with that bloody fury, that they made the most cruel Fight that ever was: Orders being given neither to give nor take quarter. *Everson's* Ship

Ship was sunk, and he taken, and the famous *Van Tromp* shot, with a Musket-bullet and slain on the poop of his Ship, whereby his men were so daunted, that hoisting out all the Sail they could, they made away to the *Texel*. The *English* bought this Victory dear, having lost Four hundred Men and Eight Captains, and Seven hundred wounded, with Five Commanders, yet lost but one Ship. On the *Dutch* side was lost, besides their Admiral *Tromp*, Thirty-three Ships or more, out of which the *English* saved swimming in the Sea, Twelve hundred Men and Five Captains, *Monk* returning victorious with their Prisoners to *Solebay*; where he stayed not long, ere he returned to ply upon the *Dutch* Coasts, and to disturb their Trade, and to let them see the *English* were their Conquerors. This was the seventh and last Engagement in this War. For now the *Dutch* having enough of it, made a Peace with *Cromwell*, which he might have had almost upon any terms, had he not been so greedy of setting himself up in the Throne, beginning also to grow jealous of the great Actions of General *Monk*, whom he had a desire to send further from him.

But before this last Fight, the *Parliament* called by *Cromwell*, under his Hand and Seal, directed to each man, such as he picked out, godly men as he called them, fit for his turn, about One hundred and forty-two of them in all, assembled at *White-Hall* on the Fourth of July, where they chose one *Mr. Rous*, a *Cornish* man, Speaker, one that had been by the late *Parliament* made *Provost of Eaton*. *Cromwell* in a set Speech desires to them the occasion of their Meeting, with his old way of Canting full of Scripture. To these men a company of obscure fellows, most of them great Phanaticks, the Council of State surrender up their Power, that they might afterwards give

it to *Cromwell*. These Adjourn themselves to *Westminster*, where they sit and call themselves the supreme Authority of the Nation, and begin to form Committees for the dispatch of Business. But this *Parliament* called *Barebones* Parliament from a Leather-seller a Member thereof, and consisting as I have said of such obscure Persons, that most of them were hardly known in the Counties where they were born, began to make such ridiculous Acts, and so displeasing to the people, that some thought *Cromwell* had called together this little Parliament to bring Parliaments into contempt, the better to devolve the Ruling Power on himself as a Monarch. One of their Acts was, that none should be married without a Justice of Peace, and the Banes asked in the Market-place three several Market-daies. Thus the Priesthood was invaded, and placed in the Civil Magistrate. Then they took off the Penal Law of the Engagement, to acknowledge the late *Rump*, whereby it was ordered, that no man should be admitted to sue in Law, in any Court, that had not taken it. They voted against Tythes and the Universities as *Antichristian*. They also were going in hand with cancelling the Law, and all Law Books, and so make a new Code more befitting their own turns, and for the establishing of the Saints, as they called themselves. They were also upon making an Act, that one Parliament should upon their dissolving, have power to call another, and so to make Parliaments perpetual. This was not to be endured by the *Oliverian* Party, who expected now to solace themselves under the shadow of his greatness. And on the twelfth of *December* this Party in the House with the Speaker, made a Motion for their dissolution, declaring that their sitting any longer would not be for the good of the Nation. Many of the Committee Blades hardly warm in their

their seats were startled at it, these began to stand up, stiffly pleading for the Cause of God, as they called it, and shewing they could not leave the *Commonwealth* and the People of God committed to their charge so soon, which would leave them to utter ruine: and *Harison* and *Squib* a great Sequestrator, were very zealous in defence of their own Authority. But *Oliver's* Parry, being the greater, arose, and with their Speaker *Ross* left the House, and the Fifth-monarchy Saints sitting in it, who having sought God, resolved to continue sitting. *Ross* in the mean time with the Mace before him, and his Followers, go to *Whitehall*, and there resign to *Oliver* the Instrument of Power he had given them, that made them a Parliament, with notice how they had left their fellows sitting. *Oliver* returns them his thanks, and kindly receives their Present, and presently dispatches a Confident of his, Colonel *White*, with a Guard of Red-coates, to turn the sag end or *Rump* of this little Parliament out of the House; who entring the House commanded them in the name of the General to depart, declaring them to be dissolved; but they told him they were upon earnest business, and therefore desired that he would not disturb them; for they were seeking God: to which he replied *pish, is that all? 'tis to no purpose, for God has not been within these walls this twelve years*, and so fairly compelled them to go out of the House, and to seek God somewhere else.

About four days after, the Officers of the Army, had prepared an Instrument of Government, on which foundation they erected their new Dominion in a single Person, entreating their General to accept of the Government, under the Title of *Protector* of the *Commonwealth* of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; and thus a Rotation is made from a Republick, to a single Person; and

Arbitrary Tyranny, not the Monarchy is restored, and instead of the many Tyrants, one as boundless is constituted by a Military Power. Good man, with his usual dissimulation and Hypocrisie he refused it, with much seeming modesty, what he so long had sought and ambitioned, but being pressed, and by being made sensible of the great necessity of it, for the upholding the Nation, he at last accepts it, and is installed with great pomp in *Westminster Hall*, attended by the Lords Commissioners of the great Seal, all the Judges in their Robes, the Serjeants and learned Counsellors at Law, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Recorder of *London*, in their Scarlets, and all the chief Officers of the Army: Being seated in a great Chair of State, and the Instrument read unto him, this Oath was administred. *I promise in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the Matters and things contained in the Instrument, but to observe and cause the same to be observed; and in all things, to the best of my understanding, govern the Nation according to the Laws, Statutes, and Customes thereof; and to seek their peace, and to cause Justice and Law to be equally administred.* But how well he kept this Oath you may perceive by the sequell of his Reign. Having taken this Oath, putting on his Hat, the Commissioners surrender into his Hand the great Seal, and the Lord Mayor the City Sword, and Cap of maintenance, which he respectively returned to them again, and then returned in the same pomp to *Whitehall*. The chief Heads of this Instrument (as they called it) of Government were. First, That a Parliament should be called every three years. Second, That the first should assemble the third of *September*, 1654. Third, That no Parliament should be dissolved till they had sate five Months. Fourth, That such Bills as should be offered to the *Protector* by the Parliament, if he assented not in twenty dayes should be Laws without him. Fifth,

Fifth, That his Council should not exceed the number of twenty one, nor be less than thirteen. Sixth, That immediately after the death of the present and succeeding *Proteſtors*, the Council shall choose another *Proteſtor*, before they rise. Seventh, That no *Proteſtor* after the present should be General of the Army. Eighth, That the *Proteſtor* should have power to make War or Peace. This they denyed to the King. Ninth, That in the Intervals of Parliaments, the *Proteſtor* and his Council may make some Laws, that should be binding to the Subject. Here is a prerogative granted beyond any of the Kings of England. Tenth, That in the Parliament should be four hundred English, thirty Scotch, and thirty Irish. The summons for the Parliament to pass under the Great Seal to the Sheriffs of the Counties, and Elections to be made more equally than formerly. If the *Proteſtor* deny to issue out Writs at the time appointed, then the Commissioners of the Great Seal to doe it without him, under the pain of High Treason. No Royalist, Irish Rebel, or Papist to be elected, and if they were, they were to forfeit two years Revenue, and three parts of their Goods. None to be elected but such as feared God: and none were capable to elect that were not worth two hundred pound. A Revenue to be raised for the constant maintenance of ten thousand Horse and fifteen thousand Foot, and the Navy not to be lessened. All forfeited Lands unfold to belong to the *Proteſtor*. All Places of Trust to be in his disposal. All Laws in favour of *Episcopacy* and *Popery* to be abrogated, and besides them, a colleration to be granted. And presently upon this he puts forth a Proclamation, declaring the dissolution of the Parliament, and his being made Lord *Proteſtor* of the three Nations, commanding and strictly charging all Persons of what quality or condition (soe-

ver, and to take notice thereof, and to conform and submit themselves to the Government so established: And that all Sheriffs, Mayors, Bayliffs, &c. are required to publish this Proclamation, to the end none may have cause to pretend ignorance in this behalf. Now he begins to shew his Authority. The *Presbyterians* were rather tollerated than countenanced; yet some few of them that would comply and fawne on his Greatness, he shew'd some favour to, though he boasted he had brought under the Pride and Arrogancy of that Sect. The *Independents* and *Anabaptists* were more in his favour, being then of most command in the Army, and most ready to support his Usurpation: yet the *Fifth-monarchy Men*, who had helpt to raise him, he could not endure, and therefore he imprisoned *Feak* and *Rogers* in *Windsor Castle*, where he kept them for a long while: Then he set *Feak's Party*, and *Kiffins* the *Anabaptist*, one in his favour, together by the ears, and raised equal divisions between the *Presbyterians* and the *Independents*, as a ballance, the better to secure himself. These Tryumphs of *Oliver* so disgusted *Harison* that he turn'd Preacher, or Bailer, openly against him and his Government: All the old Commonwealths Men were discountenanced, as *Vain*, *Hazelrig*, *Bradshaw*, *Scot* and others, so that he was at this time to strengthen himself with the Sectaries whom he courted. His first Council were Colonel *Mountague*, *Lambert*, Viscount *Lisle*, *Desborow* made one of the *Generals* at Sea, Sir *Gilbert Pickering*, Sir *Anthony Ashly Cooper*, Sir *Ch. Woolsley*, Major General *Skippon*, *Strickland*, *Sydenham*, *Philip Jones*, *Rom*, the late Speaker, Colonel *Lawrence*, and *Rich. Major*.

The first thing this *Protector* did, was that he clapt up a sudden and dishonourable Peace with the *Dutch*, who were brought so low, that it was thought,

thought, they could never have been able to have set out another Fleet, though they had made *Op-dain* Admiral in the place of *Van Trump*: and therefore they send oyer *Newport*, *Youngstal*, *Bevering*, and *Vander Perre*, Ambassadors to his Highness, with whom he made peace, they owning the Right that the *English* had of the 'Sovereignty of these Seas, and acknowledging it by striking their Flag, the restitution of the *English* Ships taken by the *Danes*, and some compensation for the charges of the War. Thus he prospers, *Spain*, *Portugal* and *France* courting him by their Ambassadors. His Son *Henry* he sends into *Ireland* with *Fleetwood* Lieutenant, and some time after made him Lieutenant of that Kingdom, where he lived in great splendor. Lieutenant General *Monk* he sends into *Scotland*, to preserve that Nation in obedience. *Whitlock* he sends Ambassador to *Sweden*, who concluded a League with that Queen. Then *Maynard*, *Twisden*, *Nudigate* and *Windham*, were made Serjeants. A private Article also in the *Dutch* Peace was, that the Prince of *Orange* should never be restored to his Dignities, Offices and Charge, his Ancestors had enjoy'd.

On the eighth of *February* being *Ashwednesday*, of all dayes of the year, the *Protector* is feasted in great state by the Lord Mayor, at *Grocers Hall*, the Streets being railed from *Temple Bar* thither, the Liveries, and Gownmen, and several Companies, standing waiting on him. Alderman *Viner* being Lord Mayor, who bore the Sword bare-headed before him. At his return about *Saint Clements Church*, a Brickbat was flung at him, which light upon his Coach, but did no hurt, except affrighting him. Search was made after him who did it, but he could not be found.

And now, as usually Tyrants doe, he began to entertain fears and jealousies of all persons, especially the Royal Party, and therefore to affright them,

them, and secure himself, he will cement his Throne with their blood: And by cunning trepanning Agents, he had formed a Plot against his Life, and several persons were laid hold on, and accused for a design of murdering him. This was one of the *Machivilean* Policies of him, and his Secretary *Thurlo*, by whose means he drew in several Gentlemen, as if they were to have assassinated him, though no such thing was really intended, they disavowing it at their deaths. One of which was Colonel *John Gerard*, brother to Sir *Gilbert Gerard* who was also imprisoned in the Tower about it, and his Brother Mr. *Charles Gerard* a very young man, one Mr. *Vowel* a School-master, and one *Fox*. These men being taken and examined about it, much adoe was made, and some were suborned to swear against them, but *Cromwell* contrary to the Oath in his Instrument, durst not try them by a legal way, but set up the Arbitrary Court of Justice, which the *Junto* had been condemned for; of this Court *Lisle* was made president, a man fit for the work, for die some of them must, out of a politick Terror. Mr. *Charles Gerard* upon promise of life confesses the fact, out of fear, and accuses his Brother, and *Fox* doth the like, who are both pardoned, but Colon. *John Gerard* and Mr. *Vowel* were condemned; and a blind man brought in evidence against Mr. *Vowel*, being only words casually in discourse, concerning the coming in of the King, which they had so aggravated and perverted, that at the trial, upon their recital, the blind man utterly denied them to be his, which gave a great trouble to the Court, till at last (though the innocency of the Prisoner appeared, and the juggle amongst them) *Lisle* told them, that the blind man had been tamper'd with, and that though he now denied his evidence, yet his former examinations should stand, and so according to this most excellent Arbitrary Law, against the mind of the Witness, the Court proceeded to sentence,

sentence, and *Vowel* was condemned and hanged at *Charing-Cross*, much pitied and lamented; and a Ladder not being able to be procured, they were forced to mount him on a Joynt-stool, and hang him after that fashion, where he dyed with much innocency and resolution on the 10th of July 1654. And on the same day Col. *Gerard* was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, presently after *Emanuel Say* the *Portugal* Ambassadors brother, put to death for killing one in a fray in the *New-Exchange*, this Col. *Gerard* being the chief man that opposed the said Ambassadors brother at that time, with the hazard of his life, yet both came to suffer in one day, upon one Scaffold, for different Crimes; For this Colonel suffered onely for the Crime of Loyalty, and was sacrificed to *Oliver's* Fear and Policy. He dyed with great bravery, courage and undauntedness.

This was *Cromwell's* first bloody remarke, and like an Usurper; who must maintain his illegal greatness, by illegal Arts. But dominion founded in innocent blood, cannot long stand, before the Avenger for blood visits it in his wrathfull Justice. About this time he takes care, there shall be a faithfull ministry, to his interest he means, therefore he sets up a Company of Tryers, the chief of which were *Nye*, *Goodwin*, *Hugh Peters*, *Manton*, and others named as Commissioners. These make a Reformation among the Ministry, for humane Learning was rather a Crime than an help to any, for the question was, *had they Grace in their hearts?* Many good Livings were disburthened of their Pastours, and others of more Grace, and less Knowledge put in. I heard of one who had been *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* Reader, in *Oxford*, and knowing in all the *Eastern* Tongues, put out of a good living for insufficiency: He had it seems not Grace equal to his Learning, or his Living had more Grace than he. But such as agreed with *Nol's* Principles, and were ready to maintain his Government, to be *jure divino*, were put into the
best

best Livings throughout *England*, and the favourers of the Church of *England*, though they had conformed, every where thrust forth.

In *Ireland* all was subdued, and he sent Cook over as a Judge, who with a kind of Itinerant Court of Justice, hung up many of the *Irish* Rebels at *Dublin*, *Waterford*, *Kilkenny* and in *Ulster*, and those that escaped of the *Irish* were confined to the Province of *Conaught*, and the rest banished. But in *Scotland* at the mediation of *Argile*, whom he had tyed to his Interest; and by whose power he held a great part of the *Highlands* in subjection, the *Presbyterians* were allowed their Religion, and had their own *Kirk* Government, and the power of Excommunication, but the rigor of it was taken off, for such as were excommunicated, were not onely forbid the Communion, but they had all their Estates confiscated to the Church, which was not allowed them, nor the meeting of their general Assembly.

Cromwell was jealous of *Lambert*, and of the Love he had among the *Sectaries* of the Army; so that as yet he was forced to caress him, and to delude him with vain hopes of succeeding him in the *Protectorate*, and therefore made him Commander in chief, of the Army, next himself, with the allowance of 10 *l.* a day. Abroad he confederates with most of the Potentates, and upon his making a Peace with *France*, the King is obliged to leave that Court, where he had been neer two years, and had done many good offices for that King, with his neighbour Princes; but Interest sways more than Gratitude. He retires into *Germany*, where all his designs, and private Councils in his Cabinet, were betray'd to *Cromwell* by one *Manning*, who was Clerk to his Secretary, bribed by the Usurper, who had a knack that way, of expending vast summs for intelligence, and by this means, many of the *Royalists* designs in *England* came to be discovered, and many brought into trouble about it, but at last the Treachour was detected, and shot to death for his perfidiousness.

ousness. About this time he sends over 6 Counsellors for Ireland, *Steel* who was *Lord Chancellor* there, and *Pepys* *Lord Chief Justice* there, *Miles Corbet*, *Robert Hamond*, *Matthew Tomlinson* and *Robert Goodwin*. About June this year, *Cromwell* seeing he was able to rule 3 Kingdoms, believed he was as well able to govern 6 Horses, sent him by the Count of *Oldenburg*, and in a frolick being in *Hide Park*, leaving his Engine *Thurlo* alone in the Coach, he gets into the Box, and would needs play the Coach-man, but the Horses feeling the lash, and not so well yoked as his *English Slaves*, ran away with Coach, Coach-man, and *Thurlo*, and at last dismounted him from his Box (an ill omen of his fall) and had like to have broke his Neck.

And now according to the *Instrument*, on the 3d of September, the *Parliament* was to meet, and great care was taken by *Oliver*, that none of the *Cavaliers* should be chosen: *Writs* were issued out in his name, and Elections made as heretofore, onely the *Burrows* sent but one *Burgess*, and there were 6 or 7 *Knights* for some *Shires*, all of them under sure qualifications: *Scotland* and *Ireland* also, according to the *Instrument*, sent their number, most being *English Commanders*. The day came, they meet, and in *Westminster Abby* *Marshall* gave them a Sermon: The next day, the *Protector* went to them in great state in his Coach, attended by *Cleypool*, Master of his Horse, *Strickland*, Captain of his Guards, bareheaded on both sides, and at his entrance, *Lambert* carried the Sword, and *Whitlock* the Purse, and in the painted Chamber he made to them a Speech after his old method, with God in his mouth. He told them this was an healing day, for before there was neither Nobleman, Gentleman, nor Yeoman known by any distinction, nor was there any bore rule or authority, but the Magistracy, and *Christ's Ordinances* were had in contempt; that the fifth Monarchy was highly cry'd up, by such persons as had a mind to assume the government to themselves. Then in an extol-

extolling way, he shewed what great things he had done during his Government, and then he told them they were upon the edge of Canaan, and that he spoke not as their Lord, but Fellow-servant; And so dismiss them to choose their Speaker, which they did, without presenting to him his name. Their Speaker was *Lentbal*, the Speaker to the old Long Parliament. This *Parliament* began to be very brisk upon the Government, and fell upon the *Instrument*, on which they made so bad musick, questioning *Oliver's* power, that he could not indure it, and immediately sent them a *Recognition*, for every Member to take, before they sat, whereby they were not to meddle with the Government, as it was settled in a single person, and the Parliament, nor with the militia, nor with perpetuating *Parliaments*, nor taking away Liberty of Conscience. He told them also, that a Free Parliament was but a term of Reciprocation, for that power which made him *Protector*, made them a *Parliament*, and therefore he was sorry, they went about to destroy the Settlement, and was forced to send them a *Recognition*, for every Member to sign and seal, to prevent it. This startled most of them, especially the *Commonwealths* men, who all flew off, and of 400 scarce 200 appeared, though at last several came dropping in, and made up 300, but they fell again upon the same disputes, notwithstanding the *Recognition*. A little before their sitting down, *Oliver* publishes several Ordinances of his own, which bearing date before, pass as Authentick Laws and Ordinances by the *Instrument*; one was for the payment of monies into the Treasury, raised for the propagation of the Gospel in *Wales*. Another for the turning forth of Scandalous Ministers, that is, such as had used the Common Prayer, and had good Livings: Another for making Souldiers free of Corporations; Another for surveying the King's Lands, and for doubling upon Deans and Chapters. This was to let the Parliament see, that he took the Act made by himself, by power of

of his *Instrument*, as good and authentick as theirs. Mark here, whether the most arbitrary of our Kings, ever assumed such a power, and yet these are days of freedom and liberty.

Lambert was very busie in this Convention, endeavouring tooth and nail to have the *Instrument* confirmed by them, for that the *Protectorship* being made elective, he himself stood most fair to be the next Candidate, but finding they would not drive, but began to be as unruly, as *Cromwell's* German Horses, that flung him out of the Coach-box, he threatned them, that he would call 4 or 5 Parliaments one after another, but it should be done, following *Oliver's* menacing steps to the *Junto*. There were some Commonwealth Officers in the Army, that had designed to have seised on *Lambert*, but Col. *Pride* betray'd them, who was privy to the business; and *Cromwell* seeing he could doe no good with his Parliament, as soon as ever the 5 months were out, dissolves them; and then he takes from these, who had conspired against *Lambert*, their Commissions, and seises on several others Commonwealths men, and Royalists, among whom was Major *Wildman*, who was drawing up a Declaration, to shew the lawfulness of taking up Arms against *Cromwell*: and of the Royalists there were Sir *John Pakington*, Sir *John Littleton* and others, which he imprisoned for a new Conspiracy (as he said) against his Life: and Sir *Tho. Harris* was taken having a design of surprizing of *Shrewsbury*. *Penruddock* and *Grove* at *Salisbury*, and in several other places, as at *Hexam Moor*, in *Northumberland*, and in *Yorkshire*, where Sir *Henry Slingsby* was taken, all their designs being beforehand betray'd to *Oliver*: and many Prisons in the West were filled with the common sort of people, from which, and from the Tower, and other places, many of them were sent away to Foreign Plantations, and sold for Slaves, and many forceably carried away in *Pen's* Expedition, to be knockt on the head by the *Moor*s. Thus he endeavoured to secure himself, by a bloody

bloody and arbitrary way of proceeding, as all Tyrants are forced to doe.

Having thus suppress this Infurrection, which he knew of beforehand, and was prepared for, several of the chief that were taken, were brought to their trials, the chief of which were Mr. *Penruddock*, who was a Captain, and Mr. *Grove* another Captain, 16 more were executed, of which 9 at *Excester*.

Both *Penruddock* and *Grove* when taken, surrendred themselves to *Unton Crook*, upon promise of having their lives, but what signifies such Promises with such Persons, who never kept their Faith; these were brave and active Loyalists, and therefore must not escape out of the bloody Paws of the Usurper. They were both condemned at the Assizes at *Excester*, being indicted for Treason against the Usurper, and endeavouring the bringing in (of their lawfull King) *Charles Stuart*, and on the 16th of May 1655 were both beheaded in that City. Mr. *Penruddock* at his execution spoke very boldly, and with much zeal against the iniquities of the Times; and told them among other things, that Treason was in that Age become an *Individuum Vagum*, like the wind in the Gospel, that bloweth where it listeth. And Treason was then what the Ruler pleased to make so, and lighted upon whom he would have it: And by this (said he) you may see, what a condition you are in, when you have no Law to protect you, no Rule to walk by; with many other bold Truths, which made them suppress his Speech and forbid it to be published, that they might conceal as much as they could, their illegal and arbitrary Proceedings: For indeed one of the *Jury*, that found him guilty, being demanded afterwards, for what reason they brought in their Verdict guilty, against Mr. *Penruddock* and *Grove*, Answered; *That they had resolved to hang them, before they saw them.* A pious Resolution. His Judges were *Lisle, Glin, Roles* and *Nichols* who denyed to give him their advice in point of Law, because they said they were Parties; and

and if so (as indeed they were) it was contrary to all Law, for a Judge being a party to sit upon the Bench. But these were lawless Times. Some others suffered at *Chard* in *Somersetshire*, one beheaded at *Salisbury*, and 3 hang'd, and thus this Insurrection was quash'd. But not long after, he crowded the Tower with many Persons of note Prisoners, upon suspicion of having an hand in this Plot, or Treason as he called it, and among the rest were the Earl of *Lindsey*, The Lords *Willowby* of *Parham*, *Newport*, *Maynard*, *Faulkland*, *Lucas*, *Petrus*, Sir *Frederick Cornwallis*, Sir *Jeoffery Palmer*, Sir *Rich. Wingfield* and others, too long to relate; but these were never brought to any tryal, but it was thought convenient to secure them, though nothing appeared against them.

Cromwell now the *Dominus fac totum*, beholding himself mounted in the Throne of the Monarchy, makes Leagues, and War and Peace abroad as he pleased, and as we have said, having made an impolitick Peace with *France*, losing thereby the ballance he had in his hand, and giving too much to that Growing Monarch, he designs a very unjust War, without any provocation, against *Spain*, having a thirst after that King's Gold and Treasure at *St. Domingo*, in the West *Indies*: But this design was kept very secret, and a great Fleet was equipped, to the wonder of his neighbours; yet that he might not lose his wonted exercise of Hypocrisie, he gives out, that it is for the propagation of the *Protestant Religion*; though besides the insatiate hunger of Gold, he might have some politick Reasons to move him to this dishonest breach, which might be, by this means, a getting rid of a great many of the troublesome Sectaries in the Army, whom he found still pecking against his power, and endeavouring to alienate the minds of the Soldiers from him: But now he shewed his Art in draining them for this expedition, whereby he might sit the quieter at home. *Venables* was made Commander in chief

Chief of the Land-forces, and Pen of the Sea, being made General, and on the 27th of December set sail from Portsmouth, with about 10000 Men, on the 28th of January following they put into Barbadoes, and on the 30th of March sailed for Hispaniola, where they Landed their Men without opposition; but whether it were the imprudence and ill management of the Generals, or that God resolved to blast so dishonest an attempt, I shall not determine; but *Englishmen* never received such a foil, and by so few enemies, since they wore the name; for having lost near a thousand Men, by an handful of *Spaniards*, *Negro's* and *Molatto's*, they were fain to retreat, and losing all hopes of getting the *Spanish Gold*, most shamefully return to their Ships; and, that they might be said to doe something, they set upon *Jamaica*, and take it, and which we have kept ever since. *Venables* after his return was frowned upon by *Oliver*, and for a while sent to the Tower, but afterwards was released. The Hopes of this Gold had made *Oliver King* it very much, being served with much State and Ceremony. He had his Halberdeers in garded grey Coats, over whom *Strickland* was Captain: His Lord Chamberlain, who was *Sir Gilbert Pickering*. Two Masters of Requests, *Mr. Bacon* and *Mr. Sadler*, and the Master of his Horse, his Son *Cleypool*, and all other Officers of Honour both to his own Person and his Wives, who very finically acted the Princes, *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court* he had saved from sale, for his own convenience.

The baffle at *St. Domingo*, and the loss of his hopes of his Gold, made him now project some other ways to fill his Coffers, to maintain his Greatness: his merry devil left him, and he began daily to grow more austere and tyrannical, being full of fears and jealousies, as he had reason; for he had not only the Royal party against him, whom he kept under with much cruelty, but the Commonwealths-men of his own party, and the Fifth-Monarchy-men, countenanced by *Harison*, were highly displeased with him, and began to Con-
spire

spire against him. He therefore lays *Harison* and *Rich* aside, and not long after he Committed them, with *Carew* and *Courtney* into several remote Castles: *Overton* was seized in *Scotland*, with *Bramstone*, *Holmes* and other Officers who were cashiered, fined, and good security taken for their good behaviour: *Overton* was sent to the Tower, and his Regiment given to Col. *Morgan*. *Okey's* Regiment also was taken from him, and given to another. *Joyce* had the confidence to upbraid his Highness to his face, but escaped unpunished, *Cromwell* saying he was a Mad-man. About this time he began to interest himself for the Protestants abroad, and to be their Protector. The Protestant Subjects of the Duke of *Savoy*, in the Vallies of *Piedmont*, having been cruelly treated by that Prince for their Religion, *Cromwell* sends to make application in their behalf; but his Messengers being slighted, he caused Contributions for their relief to be made throughout *England*, and *Viner* and *Pack* were made Treasurers for the Money; by which means a considerable sum was Collected, but what share they had of it, is not known. The *Spanish* War now Comenced apace, *Cromwell* resolving not to hearken to Peace, nor to the restitution of three Ships he had taken of the King of *Spain's* before he had declared War, pretending them *Hambourgers*, and Confiscating them, being laden with pieces of Eight, to the sum of Four hundred thousand pounds Sterling, which was minted in the Tower, though the *Spanish* Ambassador *Alonso de Cardenas* protested against it, and did all he could to hinder the injustice, which was returned on our Merchants, by that Kings seizing on their effects in *Spain*, and by the loss of 1500 *English* Ships, great and small, taken from us in this War, as appeared afterwards, according to the report made in *Richard's* Parliament.

This sum of money being spent, he had with his Privadoes thought of another way of recruit, which like their Usurpation, was the most Barbarous and Arbi-

Arbitrary as ever was heard of. See now what was become of the Liberties of *English* men, when he following the Example of the *Grand Seignior*, set over the Land a company of *Bashaws*, with the same power, under a new title of *Major-Generals*. He had Canton'd *England* and *Wales* into 11 Provinces, joyning the Counties together for the convenience of this *Turkish* sway, over every one of which he appointed a Governour or *Bashaw*, called by him a *Major-General*. The Names of these Tyrannick Princes were, *Kelfy, Goff, Desborow, Fleetwood, Skippon, Whaly, Butler, Berry, Worley, Lambert* and *Barkstead*, who was also Lieutenant of the Tower. These in their respective Principalities, lived like petty Princes or *Bashawes*, domineering and lording it over both Nobility and Gentry, and according to the Command and Order of their *Grand Seignior Oliver Cromwell*, (which was then esteemed Law) all the poor *Cavaliers*, that is, all such who had served in the Wars, for *King Charles* the first, and also all those that had declared themselves for his Son, *King Charles* the second (our now Sovereign) were by these *Bashaws* to be decimated, that is, the tenth part of their Estates were to be taken from them, besides banish'd from *London*, and within 20 miles of the same, disarm'd and prohibited to be Elected into any Parliament. And as for the Clergy, they were turned out of their Livings, and kept from all other way of livelihood, unless they would work with their hands, so that many were ready to starve, for they were prohibited any Cure, or to be Chaplains to any, or to keep School. The power of these Decimators was great and boundless, Oppressing, Robbing, Spoyling and Decimating whom they pleased, according to their own Arbitrary Will; for none durst say, Why do you thus? They kept a Roll of all persons within their Precincts; and if they suspected any to favour the King, he was called to account by these Military-Lords, and Caution taken by them, to keep them from acting against the State, binding

binding them to reveal all Plots that should come to their knowledge, and made them engage the like for their servants. They also hindred them from their disports, and prohibited all Horse-races, Cock-fighting, Bull-baiting, or any thing that should cause a Concourse of People: and those who refused, were presently imprisoned and decimated; so that the free people of *England* were become as absolute Slaves as those living under the *Turkish* Government, where none can call any thing his own. By this means the Usurper easily informed himself of the value of all the Estates in *England*, and of the behaviour and affection of every Person of Quality throughout the Kingdom. Such vast Powers were given to these *Major-Generals*, that there was nothing they might not doe, and indeed did not doe; they using it to the full. And for this purpose these *Major-Generals* had an office in *Fleetstreet* in *London*, as other Courts had, where their Recognances were enter'd, and all other concerns and dependances belonging to them recorded or register'd. Of some they took yearly the 10th penny, of others they took a sum of money for Composition, usually at three years purchase, which many were willing to pay, who had money, rather than to be continually troubled with them.

And now the year 1656 Commencing, which by the *Instrument* was a Parliamentary-year, in *July* *Oli-ver* issues out his Writs for his second Parliament, to sit on the 17th of *September* following. But in the mean time Rear-Admiral *Stainer*, with six other Ships of the *English* Fleet, met with the *Spanish* Fleet near *Cadix*, returning from the *West-Indies* with Plate, where he sunk several of them, with great treasure, and took others, which he brought away, with two Millions of pieces of Eight, which amounts to 400000 pounds Sterling. There were several Noble men and Dons of *Spain*, taken Prisoners, whom *Cromwell* treated handsomely, and after a little while generously sent them home without Ransom.

And now on the 17th of September 1656, the appointed time for the Meeting of the Parliament, those who were Elected met, and chose for their Speaker Sir Thomas Widdrington. The Major-Generals had a great hand in chusing this Parliament, who by their Arbitrary Power and Authority, caused whom they pleased to be chosen, and it was thought it was one of Cromwell's policies to Constitute them for that end, wanting a Parliament that might give him money: And also by their most tyrannical sway they had rendered themselves so odious to the Royalists, that they desired rather any other Government should be than these *Bashaw's*; and it was indeed thought to be one of Cromwell's policies in their Constitution, that their tyranny might cause his Iron yoke alone to sit more easie about their necks, for he gave them up to the Parliament who abolish'd them.

His design of making himself King, and of wearing the Imperial Crown, and of becoming a legal Monarch, and of transmitting it to his posterity, now plainly was manifested, though God did not see it good, to let the Iniquity of the Nation run on so far, as to disinherit the right line, having in his Wisdom resolved to continue it, to the posterity of Charles the Martyr; for though Cromwell knew, he had more Power, and greater Dominion, and was more absolute than any King of England; yet the glorious Title of King, and the wearing of a Crown, was the desire of his ambitious soul, nor that it could add more to his Power, but he imagined, that by that means, he should be accounted more legal, for that the Crown takes away all attain, and that perhaps he might be able to transmit it to his posterity, and make it hereditary in his own line. He knew his tyrannick Usurpation was against all the Laws of the Land, and that he could hold what he had got, no longer than the Army pleased to stick to him, who, like an headstrong beast, was grown so skittish, he had much ado to master it; but by setting the Crown on his own head,

head, he thought to reduce every thing to its old channel, the race of the *Stuarts* only changed, for that of *Cromwells*; and for this end he now began all he could, to court the Nobility and Gentry of the Royal Party, after he had sufficiently humbled and crush'd them, and made them poor, all to sweeten them against his assuming the Crown, having got, as he hop'd, a Parliament for his purpose: for none were admitted into this Parliament, after their Elections, but such as the Council allowed of, and many persons, that *Oliver* durst not trust, were in this Parliament, and that he thought not fit to sit, till some Laws were first made, for the strengthening his Authority, and carrying on of his design. There was therefore a Recognition of his Highness Government by a single person, placed ready with a Guard of Red-coats, to be signed before any of the Members went into the House, and such as refused to sign it were dismissed, and not suffered to sit; by which means near 200 at the first were excluded, those that sat taking no notice of this most horrid force. And now let those who so much stand up for Law and Justice, and cry out upon Arbitrary Rule tell me if ever a greater could be acted upon the Liberties of the People in denying them their freedoms in the sitting of their Representatives in Parliament, and if any of the most Arbitrary Kings of *England* ever did or durst attempt the like? But what might not, and what did not this Tyrant and Usurper doe?

At first this Parliament went on very smoothly, and to the content of their *Proteſtorian* Master; the first thing was, they made a Vote declaring his War with *Spain* to be just and honourable, with a resolution of assisting him in it: Then as a Grand step for him to Mount the Throne, they make an Act for the renouncing the title of *Charles Stuart*, and the whole line of King *James*, unto the Crown of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*; seconded with another, for the securing his Highness Person, and the continuance of

the Nations peace, which was bound up in it. And this last Act was made by reason of a Plot then discovered against his Person, by one *Syndercomb*, or rather a Contrivance of his Secretary *Thurlo's*, to further his designs. This *Syndercomb* was a Leveller, or Fifth-Monarchy-man, and disbanded by *Monk* in *Scotland*, who being a resolute fellow, and disgusted, was drawn in by two of *Thurlo's* Creatures, one *Cecil* and *Toop* of *Cromwell's* Life-guard, who pretending a Male-contentedness, easily drew him in to a design of Murdering the Tyrant, there being about that time, a book printed and published, with the name of *Allen* to it, a disbanded Leveller, called *Killing no Murther*, which with notable Arguments proved the Lawfulness of Killing *Cromwell*, as an Usurper and Tyrant, which book almost scared him out of his wits, and made him ever after afraid of every strange face that came near him; and made him betake himself to these artifices, to affright assassins by his severity. *Syndercomb* being thus trepann'd and drawn in, by his Instruments, had prepared a Blunderbuss, and had placed it to shoot him in his Coach going to *Hampton-Court*; and if that failed, he was to have fired *White-Hall*, by placing a Basket of combustible matter in the Chapel, with a train, all which is discovered; *Syndercomb* and his Companions seized, the Life-guard men confess the Plot, and are pardoned, *Syndercomb* is tryed for it at the upper Bench-bar, (as they then called it) and convicted by the Witness of his fellow Conspirators, he was Condemn'd to be Hang'd, Drawn and Quarter'd at *Tyburn*, but before his Execution he was found dead, and poysoned in the Tower, by himself as the *Inquest* of the *Coroner* found it, though by others suspected to be a fineness of *Thurlo's*; however, as a *felo de se* he was drawn at an Horses tail to *Tower-hill*, and there put into the ground under the Scaffold, and a Stake driven thorow his Body. This occasioned the Act to be hastned for his Highness preservation, and a thanksgiving Voted for this great delivery,

very, the Parliament attending him at *White-Hall* in the Banqueting-house, where a Congratulatory Oration upon this occasion was made to him. The next day the time being very convenient, Alderman *Pack* started a motion, that for the better and more sure settlement of the Nation, the *Protector* might be desired to assume the stile and title of King, as the most known and most agreeable Government to the people of *England*: this was hotly pursued by the Court-party of the House, which after several hot debates produced, *The Humble Petition and Advice*: of which we shall speak anon.

The horrible licentiousness of these times, had ripened the birth of strange and monstrous Opinions and Heresies, and all places swarm'd with these kind of creatures, of an hundred different persuasions: The *Ranters* grew numerous, and committed their beastialities under the notion of Liberty of Conscience publicly, turning debauchery and all manner of wickedness into a Religion; some lying with their Wives, or other women openly in the Market-place, several, both men and women running stark naked, without the least rag to hide their shame, about the streets, and into Churches, pretending a Command from the spirit for these Actions. Then the *Socinians* encreased, who denied the Divinity of Christ, one *Biddle* being infamous for those Opinions: and one *Erbery*, once a Minister, for *Ranting*. Then the *Quakers* began to grow numerous, under *George Fox* their head, and so troublesome, that they disquieted *Oliver* himself, who liked not their Antiministerial principles. But above the rest, *James Naylor* was at this time remarkable, who grew to that height of delusion and phrensie, as to personate our Saviour, and procured a divine worship or adoration to be given to him, by some women attending him. He had been formerly a Soldier under *Lambert*, who stickled much to save him from punishment, but the Parliament now sitting, take the matter into their

cognizance; being sent up from *Bristol*, where he was, he appears before them with a composed countenance, his hair hanging after the fashion of those pictures made for our Saviour, and with a forked beard, often answering the questions put to him with *Thou sayest it*. He was accused of Blasphemy, and for assuming to himself divine Honours, he having had *Hosanna's* sung before him, and such expressions used to him, as the people of the *Jews* used towards our Saviour, when he rode into *Jerusalem*, a little before his Crucifixion. He used several evasions, but the House sentenced him, to be, both at *London* and *Bristol*, publicly Whipt, through both the Cities, to stand in the Pillory, to have his Tongue bored thorow, and to be Augmatized in the forehead with the letter B, for a Blasphemer; and then to remain in *Bridewell* during pleasure: which sentence was with great severity inflicted upon him, and which he underwent with a more than ordinary patience and resolution.

The Parliament having made an Act, for Preventing of Multiplicity of Buildings, within ten miles of *London*, and that every house within that compass, built upon a new foundation, should pay a years Rent to the Protector; they fall upon the Petition and Advice. In the mean time, *Cromwell* designing the Succession of his Usurpation for his Son *Richard*, begins to shew him to the World; but that he might give *Lambert* no Umbrage of his Intentions, he keeps him for some time in the Country in *Hantsire*, where he had Married the Daughter of one *Major*, with whom he had a plentiful Fortune. Here he grows familiar and kind to the Royalists, insinuating into them by his debonare Carriage, and serving many of them in several requests to his Father, endeavouring to get their good liking, by his Civilities, and affable Disposition. The first publick Honour done him, was in making him Chancellor of *Oxford*, which his Father had resigned for that purpose; then he was Sworn a Privy-Counsellor,

Counsellor, and made a Colonel in the Army, that he might have an Interest in all Parties, and not long afterwards was made the first Lord of the other House, after the re-meeting of the Parliament, and stiled the Noble Lord *Richard Cromwell*, to prepare his way, had likewise his News-writer *Marchmont Needham*, who tells the people there is no everlasting principle in Government, which is but a temporary expedient, and that in the hazard of a Common-wealth, the next shift might be made use of; which was a King, as most agreeable and necessary. He had likewise an ill Poet, *Pagan Fisher*, who in a *Rodomontado* stile, sung his Achievements in Latin Verse, together with the Vertues of the pious *Bradshaw*.

Oliver having prepared things for them, as well as he could, the Parliament proceed hotly upon the *Petition and Advice*, which was their new Model of Government, and with which on the 9th of April 1657, the Parliament having desired a meeting with the Protector, they wait upon him in the Banqueting-house at *White-Hall*, where *Sir Thomas Widdrington* in a set Speech commended the office of a King, as settled here ever since Christianity, approved by our Ancestors, agreeing best with our Laws, and temper of the People; a Model of which Government, as most proper for the good and security of the Nation, he there presented him with. The old Fox returns, That 'tis a weighty Matter, and therefore desired time to seek God in it; for without his Assistance, the charge would be too great for him to bear. That the *English* were the best people in the world, and therefore all tenderness imaginable should be shewed to them, and nothing done without due consideration of their benefit; with much more of the like nature. The next day a Committee was appointed to attend him for his Answer; which being delivered after a dubious manner, they resolve to force it upon him, and adhering to their Petition, frame a Committee of near half their House to attend him, both

to hear and give satisfaction to his doubts and scruples, in this case. The chief of these were *Whitlock*, Lord Chief Justice *Glyn*, Lord *Broughill*, *Lenthall*, *Lisle*, *Philip Jones*, *Fiennes*, *Strickland*, *Thurlo*, Sir *Richard Onslow* and Sir *Charles Woosley*.

And now it might be wondered at, that *Cromwell* having this fair opportunity, did not accept of this proffer, so much urged; no doubt but he most eagerly desired it, yet was he so cautious and fearfull, lest that, like the Dog in the Fable, he should snatch too greedily at the shadow of Royalty, and should lose the boundless power or substance of his Tyranny, or in seeking to fortifie his title, lose his tenure: for he well understood the temper of the Army, and that by the means of *Lambert* (who began to smell out his design, and fearing to lose the Succession promised him) was ready to Mutiny; which if he should lose, he were undone, knowing all his title was main-tained, by the power of their Swords, and that therefore he must wear such title, as they please, or would be contented with; therefore considering, that it would not be safe for him at this time to accept it, he was forced with reluctancy to put it off to a more convenient season. Many meetings and debates however they had about it, and many Arguments held *Pro* and *Con* between them: The Committee alledged that the title of King had been confirmed by Parliaments, for above 1300 years, and that neither the Person or Name of King had been displeasing to them. That it was interwoven with the Laws, and was most necessary to be assumed: For that the Title ought to be accommodated to the Laws, not the Laws to it; as they must if he continued the name of *Protector*. That new titles were ever suspected, and that the name of *Protector* had still been unfortunate to the Kingdom, and to themselves: That it being given him by the Soldiers, it smelt too much of Conquest: That the *Roman Empire* never thrived so well, but was always full of confusion, under the titles of *Consuls*, *Dictators*

Dictators or *Prince of the Senate*, as it did under the title of *Kings*, untill *Cesar* came to settle the *Empire*: they also lay'd before him the reasons for the changing the Title of *Lord* to *King of Ireland*, in the time of *King Henry* the 8th for the better and more regular Government of the Nation. But their main Argument was drawn from the Statutes of 9 *Edm.* 5. and 3 *H.* 7. by which all persons were indemnified that took up Arms for the King in being, and would be a great security to himself and the people, to have it thus settled upon him by Act of Parliament: But for all this, for the Reasons aforesaid, his fears surmounted his Ambition, he at last gave them a peremptory Refusal, telling them that it was against his Conscience, and that he could not offend so many Godly men and Officers of the Army, who had declared against the title and office of King; but he desired that the Title of *Protector*, and the Government by a single person, might be confirmed by consent of this Parliament.

Upon this his refusal, which was cryed up as a great Vertue, and sign of his Humility, the Parliament confirm him in his former title and dignity, and an explanatory part to the *Petition and Advice* was prepared, in respect of the *Protector's* Oath, his Counsels, Members of the House of Commons, and of the other House (as they called it, instead of the House of Lords) which were to sit, and to consist of 60 odd Lords of *Cromwell's* making. The chief heads of the *Petition and Advice* were, 1. That he should exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate under the Title of *Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland*, and to govern according to the *Petition and Advice*, and that in his life-time he should appoint his Successor. 2. That a Parliament should be called every three years at farthest, and that it should consist of two Houses. 3. That the Members of Parliament legally chosen, should not be secluded the House, but by consent of the House (notwithstanding this he did

nor re-admit the secluded Members of this House which he had cast out) 4. Shewed certain qualifications for the Members to be chosen. 5. The power of the other House was declared. 6. That no Law should be altered, repealed or made, but by Act of Parliament. 7. That the constant yearly Revenue of the Army and Navy be settled, and that to be a Million of Pounds Sterling, and 300000 *l.* more for the support of the Government, besides other Temporary supplies, as the House of Commons should see necessary and fit. 8. That the Protector's Council should not exceed the number of 21, nor to be under 9, and 7 of them to be a *Quorum*. 9. That the chief Officers of State to be chosen or approved by the Parliament. 10. That his Highness should encourage a Godly Ministry. 11. That the Protestant Religion should be professed, and that he should cause a Confession of Faith to be made, and that none should be permitted to reproach it, or revile it by words or writings. With some other matters of less importance.

With this, the aforementioned Acts, with an Act for Assessment of 60000 *l.* a month, for three months: Another Money Act for 50000 *l.* for England, 6000 *l.* for Scotland, and 9000 *l.* for Ireland, with some others concerning Trade, were presented to *Cromwell* to Sign by the Parliament: To whom, returning them many thanks, he said, That he perceived that among those many Acts they had made, that they had taken great care to provide for the just and necessary support of the Common-wealth, by those Bills for Levying of Money, and understanding that it had been formerly the practice of the chief Governours, to acknowledge with thanks to the Commons, their care and regard to the Publick, therefore he very heartily thank'd them; and acknowledged their kindness therein. And after he had signed these Bills, and the *Petition and Advice*, and Articles therein, He told them, That he had undertaken one of the greatest burthens that
ever

ever was laid upon the back of any humane creature, and therefore he asked their help and prayers to God, that he might have the divine Assistance, for the discharging of this great trust. And that for his part, nothing should have induced him to have taken upon him this unsupportable burthen to flesh and blood, but that he had seen in the Parliament a great care of those things, that might make clearly for the Liberty of the Nations, and for the Interest of such as feared God: And if that the people were not thank full to them for their great care, it would fall as a sin upon their heads. With much more of the same nature.

This being done, they prepare for the Solemnity of his Inauguration or Investiture anew, for though he was before solemnly inaugurated into the Protectorate, as you have heard, according to the Instrument, yet it was thought fit that it should be done again, for the greater confirmation of the business, because the Articles of this Petition and Advice were different from the former Instrument: For now there was to be another House; and whereas before his Council was to name his Successor, he had now power to doe it himself, so that he was an absolute Monarch, and might leave the Succession to his Son if he pleased. A Committee being appointed for this purpose, on the 26th of June 1657, before a great assembly of people, and with much more Ceremony than before, he was installed in Westminster-Hall, under a great Canopy of State, in great pomp and much magnificence, too long for me here to relate; the Great Seal being carried by the Lord Commissioner Fiennes, and the Sword by the Earl of Warwick. The City Sword by the Lord Mayor Tichbourn, all bare-headed: The Dutch and French Ambassadors being also present. The Speaker of the House of Commons presenting him with a Robe of Purple Velvet, a Bible, a Sword and a Sceptre, making a Speech to him in presenting them: Telling him, that the Purple

Purple Robe was an Emblem of Magistracy, and imported Righteousness and Justice: The Bible containing the Holy Scriptures, was Christ Veiled and Revealed, and contained both Precepts and Examples for good Government: The Sceptre not unlike a Staff, was to shew he was to be the Staff of the poor and weak, of ancient use; for that the Scripture says, *The Sceptre should not depart from Judah*, and that Kings and Princes were called by Homer Sceptre-bearers: That the Sword was not only a Military, but a Civil-Sword, a Sword rather of defence, than of offence, to defend himself and his people: Upon which he would presume to write this Motto, *Ego sum Domini Protectoris ad protegendum Populum Meum*. I am the Lord Protector, to protect my People. This being ended, he gave the Protector his Oath on the Bible, and Mr. Manton made a Prayer, wherein he recommended the Protector, the Parliament, the Army and Government to God: which done, the Trumpets sounded, and the Heralds proclaimed him Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions thereunto belonging. After which he returned in great State, the Lord Sherard and the Lord Roberts his eldest Son carrying his Train. The Pageantry being finished, the House having done like good Boys, have leave to play, for returning to their House, they adjourn themselves to the 20th of January following.

Being thus settled in his Dignity, he began to live more splendidly, and like a King, having a very full Court, and after a Monarchical Manner, all his Officers of State. Steel was made Chief Baron, and Lambert Warden of the Cinque-Ports; but that would not satisfy him, for he was not a little disgusted, that Cromwell had power given him to nominate his Successor, and he now plainly perceived his Intentions of settling the Succession in his Children, for which he now resolves, if he can, to ruine him with the Army. But Cromwell is vigilant, and had on the

19th of April, at a certain house in *Shoreditch*, taken several of the Champions of the Fifth-Monarchy men, among whom was one *Venner*, a Preaching Wine-Cooper, *Ashton*, *Gowler*, *Hopkins*, and *Gray* their Scribe, these were to have risen, and with them was taken a considerable quantity of Arms, and their Standard, with a Lyon-Couchant, *Guiles*, in a Field *Argent*, with this Motto: *Who shall rouse him?* The late Vice-Admiral *Lawson* and Major *Danvers* were secured: As also Major *Wildman*, who was taken at *Marlborow* drawing up a Declaration against him, and clapt up in order to his Tryal. And hearing of private Subscriptions to Petitions and Addresses to the Parliament, carrying on in the Army against Kingship, he peremptorily sent to them to desist upon their peril, and so over-aw'd and dasht them, that they durst not go on with their attempt. There was no body now very considerable of their own party, that could give him any disturbance but *Lambert*; and to secure himself against him, he followed the example *Lambert* had set him before, in securing himself against the *Rump Parliament*, and caused all the Army, by his *Privado's*, Regiment after Regiment, to subscribe Addresses, Congratulating his legal Authority, and declaring their readiness to stand by him with their Lives and Fortunes.

This year, on the 20th of April 1657, that great action of General *Blake* was performed against the *Spaniards*, at *Santa Cruze*, in the Island of *Tenariff*, where he burnt their whole *West-India* Ships, being 16 in number; notwithstanding they were barracado'd in the Haven, and defended by a Castle well fortified, and 7 Forts, and got forth of their Haven without any loss; for which considerable service the Protector and Parliament ordered him a Jewel of 500 *l.* and gratuities to the other Officers and Soldiers. But this Valiant and Renowned Seaman did not long out-live this his memorable exploit, dying at Sea, as he was entering the sound of *Plymouth*.

Never

Never any Seaman performed so many Actions, redounding to the Glory of the *English* Nation, as he did; and it was his only misfortune, that he serv'd not a lawfull Prince.

And now the 20th of *January* being come, at which time the Parliament was to re-assemble, they met accordingly, but they now were quite another thing, than what they were before; for according to the Clause in the *Petition and Advice*, That the persons legally Chosen should not be secluded, but by the consent of the House; those Members that *Cromwell* had before kept out by force, were now re-admitted, though against his mind; who presently gave him a disturbance. Then according to their new Model, there was the other House, for as yet they did not dare to call it a House of Lords, which consisted of his chiefest Favourites of the Army-Officers and others, and many pick'd out of the House of Commons, some of them being of the excluded Commonwealths-men, whom he hoped to draw to his party by this obligation, about half a score likewise of the old Nobility were nominated, thinking to draw them in, but they refused to come. The Houses being thus altered in their Constitution, quickly let *Cromwell* see he was deceived in his hopes, for *Hazelrig* and others disdaining his proffer'd Baronage, took their seats in the Commons House, where they thought they should doe more good; and by which means the Commonwealths-men grew so high, that the other House was not taken notice of, but fell to questioning all their fellows had done, during their Seclusion, and had the Messages of the other House in contempt and derision. And now the *Humble Petition and Advice* was like to be overthrown. The news of their proceedings so enraged the mind of *Oliver*. seeing his great Hopes of being King so suddenly dash'd, that contrary to the advice of his Council, he goes to them, and for haste takes an Hackney-Coach, and entring into the other House,

and

and standing under a Canopy of State, he sends for the Commons to come to him; who being come, with much eagerness made them a long Speech; which being remarkable, I shall recite some few heads:

That the Lord was his witness; his desires of carrying on the affairs of the Nation, were for the ends of Mercy, Truth, Righteousness and Peace, which he desired might be improved. That there was not a Man or Woman treading upon English Ground, could say that he sought the place of Protector, but he thought the Nations happy therein. But that he was Petitioned thereunto by them, who had the Legislative Power, to take up a burthen too heavy for any creature, therefore did look they should make it good to him. That he could say in the presence of God, before whom they were all but poor creeping Ants upon the Earth, he had rather have kept sheep, than undertook such a place of Government as that was. That he had told them he would not undertake it, unless he might have men that should go between him and the House of Commons, to prevent tumultuary spirits; which was granted, and he had named another House, and that it was not Titles or Lords that they valued, but a Christian and English Interest, who would be a ballance to them and themselves, and of their own rank and quality, whilst they loved England and Religion. That he thought he had been doing his duty, and that they would be satisfied; but if they were too high and too low, they would not be satisfied. That God knew he had taken an Oath upon condition, expressed in the Government, and thought he had been upon a sure foundation, and that the consequence had been confusion if he had not done it. That there were no hereditary Lords or Kings settled, the power consisting in the two Houses and himself, and that God would judge between them and him. God was his witness, that there was a seeking of a new settlement in the Army; that he spake not to those Gentlemen, (meaning his Lords) or what they would call them, but

but to them the Commons, that advised him to that place; yet that instead of owning him, some of them must have they did not know what. And that they were running the Nation into confusion again; by their intention of devising a Commonwealth, that some of the people might be the Men that might rule all, and that these things were not according to God and according to Truth; pretend what they would, it was a playing a game for the King of Scots, if he mought call him so, and therefore he thought himself bound before God to doe what he meant to prevent it. God was his witness, he told them what was true, the King of Scots had an Army at the water-side, ready to be Shipt for England, and that he had the knowledge of it from an eye-witness. That they had not only been endeavouring to pervert the Army, to draw them to a Commonwealth, but some of them, while sitting had been lifting of persons by Commission from Charles Stuart, to joyn with any insurrection that should be made; that if this was the end of their sitting, and that if these were their carriages, concluding, he thought it high time to put an end to their sitting; and therefore, by the living God, he declared to them, that he did Dissolve that Parliament. To which many of the Commons cry'd out, Amen. And thus ended this Parliament crossing and vexing Oliver to the heart, for he expected more supplies of Money.

Oliver having thus dismiss this Parliament, and rid himself of that fear, begins to fortifie himself against the Royalists, who had indeed formed a new Plot, for the bringing in their King, but were betray'd by Willis and one Corcar a Minister of Suffex, who had been long employed by Cromwell for that purpose: The Royalists were glad the Parliament was dissolved, for they feared a Commonwealth much more than Cromwell; not that he was less Tyrannical, or had used them more favourably, but for that the other sort of Government had rendred it self formidable, and was in danger to have been more permanent than

than *Oliver's* Kingly *Protectorship* could, for they believed, as they well might, that King *Oliver* would never be long endured by the people, whose eyes must needs be opened, and see that he was got into the Throne, and exercised the same power, and far more than the Kings of *England* ever did, and whom they had flung out only to make way for a Tyrant, and that they would never suffer a man of their own quality and rank thus to play the King amongst them, and to be their Lord, without endeavouring to sling him out. Besides, they found *Lambert* and the Army so much disgusted, that they would rather have ventur'd all than not to have seen the downfall of *Cromwell*: so that the *Royalists* thought all things to be favourable to their design: But *Cromwell* having timely notice of all things by his Agents, among them, he takes care to prevent them, and sending to his right hand *Tichbourn*, Lord Mayor, causes him to double the City-Guards, and to make great changes in the Militia, turning out all he suspected; and presently seizes on Sir *William Compton*, the Earl of *Northampton's* Brother, Mr. *Russel*, the Earl of *Bedford's* Brother, Sir *William Clayton* and many more: The Marquess of *Ormond*, who on the design had lain hid for some time in *London*, hardly escapes his hands. Also he seizes on Mr. *Mordant*, the Earl of *Peterborough's* Brother: Mr. *Manley*, Mr. *Barnes*, Mr. *Stapely*, Mr. *Manfel*, Mr. *Woodcock*, Mr. *Carent*, Mr. *Jackson*, and one *Mallory*, who was thought to be a decoy to the rest, being pardoned after Condemnation.

And now, to give more terror to the *Royalists*, *Cromwell* resolves again to new dye his hands in Blood, by the old Arbitrary and Tyrannical way: Up goes the High Court of Justice, and its bloody President *Lisle*, who on the 25th of May 1658, Sir *Cromwell* had pickt out two Eminent Men to begin with, one Lay-man Sir *Henry Slingsby*, imprisoned ever since the West-Rising, and one Clergy-man, the Reverend Dr. *Hewet*. Sir *Henry Slingsby* was ac-

cused

cused (though falsely) to have endeavoured to betray *Hull*, whilst a Prisoner there, and for holding Correspondence with *Charles Stuart*, for which he was Condemned for a Traytor, and sentenced to be be-headed, which Death he suffer'd on *Tower-hill* on the 8th of *June* following, though great application to save his life had been made to *Cromwell*, by his Nephew, and *Cromwell's* Son-in-law, the Lord *Faulconbridge*; but the Tyrant was inexorable, having before-hand with *Thurlo* resolved on the Death of these two men. The next was Dr. *Hewer*, who was accused before the same Court, for Conspiring against the Government, and holding intelligence with the King. But the Doctor Demurred to the Jurisdiction of the Court, citing divers Law-Cases, and giving many Reasons against their authority, desiring them to evince to him the legality of their Court, and he would plead to his charge. But this they would not, nor were able to doe; and whilst he disputed with them, they took the advantage of demanding his Plea three times; after which, though he then desired it, seeing they would record him a Mute, they would not admit, for being designed for slaughter, had they admitted him to plead, he would have escaped them, for want of Witnesses, which it seems failed them at that time. The Doctor had an Eloquent Tongue, was of great esteem and abilities, and Preached long at *St. Gregory's*, where he sometimes could not forbear to deplore the misery of the Kingdom, so that *Cromwell* had a particular desire to rid him out of the way, as a most dangerous man, and took this occasion to doe it; upbraiding the Doctor with very bitter and unbecoming language, when he was brought before him to be examined. However, though he was Condemned as a Mute, yet he had the favour to be beheaded, and suffer'd the same day with Sir *Henry Slingsby*; where he prayed almost an hour with great zeal and fervour of spirit, having his head severed from his body,

body, he dyed with much Christian Magnanimity.

The next that came to his Tryal, was Mr. *Mordant*, who at first denied the Jurisdiction of the Court, but was by his friends at last perswaded to plead, and was quitted by one voice only, for very fortunately Col. *Pride* being taken with a fit of the Stone, went off the Bench, to the saving his life. Then Mr. *Woodcock* and Sir *Humphrey Benner*, were tryed and acquitted: *Mallory* confest, was condemn'd, but not executed: Then Mr. *Carent* was try'd and acquitted. Mr. *Henry Frier* was condemned by them; but when going to be executed in *Smithfield*, he was reprieved: the like hapned to *John Summer*, who was condemned to dye in *Bishopsgate-street*, and *Oliver Allen* in *Gracechurch-street*, who had their Reprieves brought them: *Baron*, *Manly*, *Mansel*, with one *Seymour* and *Carlton*, all imprison'd on the same account, made their escape; but were arraigned, though absent, and condemned.

But *Edward Ashton*, *John Bettely* and *Edward Stacy* were also tryed before this Court, for the same Crime, of raising War, and seeking the Death of *Cromwell*, where all three were Condemned, with little or no proofs against them; Col. *Ashton* was a known Cavalier, and a Prisoner for Debt in *Newgate*; but being permitted by favour to go abroad, fell into the company of one of *Cromwell's* Trepanners, who went stroling about for prey, who informs the Secretary of dangerous words spoken by this *Ashton*, for which he was tryed and condemned, though he denied them at his Death, and was hang'd, drawn and quarter'd in *Tower-street*, the Tyrant making all parts of the City his Shambles, of humane flesh, for the greater terror: this was his bloody policy. Mr. *Bettely* was in like manner betray'd, and falsely accused by these Ruffians, the Emisaries of *Cromwell* and *Thurlo*, condemned upon their Oaths, though he protested his Innocency, and was executed in the

the midst of *Cheapside*, being hang'd, drawn and quarter'd : After he had been a long time dead, as they thought, on a sudden he lift up his hands, and pulling off his Cap, looked upon them, staring with his eyes, to all their amazements, till the Executioner dispatch'd him. These suffer'd on the 2d of July 1658. and two dayes after Mr. *Stacy* was only hang'd : Many more, who were imprisoned and designed to death, escaped by *Oliver's* Death, which was not very long after.

He was no sooner rid of the fear of this Flot, by these Executions, but he was again troubled by *Lambert's* Cabal, who had inveigled both *Fleetwood* and *Desborow*, *Cromwell's* near relations, with their Commonwealth Principles, though *Lambert* intended only the setting up of himself, in *Cromwell's* stead. But *Cromwell* now dallies no longer with them, but takes away *Lambert's* Commission, and lays him aside, and disposes his Regiments to others, whom he could better trust, and sends into the Army several Spies and Eyes droppers, to let him know the temper and behaviour of the Officers, and of their inclinations, whereby he might the better reform them.

This bloody Tyrant, becoming Sanguinary, (as all other Tyrants doe) grows very fearfull and suspicious, and began to dread every strange face that came near him, which he would fix his eyes upon, and intently view, for fear of an assassination ; for that Book of *Killing no Murther* still ran dreadfully in his mind, and made him to take all the care he could of himself, oftentimes shifting his Lodgings ; to which he passed by twenty several locks, and usually had four or five ways out of them : He seldom went and came the same way between *White-Hall* and *Hampton-Court*, and always by private and by-ways, and in a great hurry, his Guards before and behind, still on the Gallop, and his Coach (especially the boots) filled with armed men, and began to be of very difficult access to all persons. Yet this year he had

success

success in *Flanders*, and *Dunkirk* was surrendred into his hands, and *Lockhart* General of the Forces there, and his Kinsman made Governor thereof.

And now the *Exit* of this great Tyrant and Usurper draws near, being ushered in with a Prodigy three Months before; for on the 2d of *June* a great Whale came up as far as *Greenwich*, and was there killed. His beloved Daughter *Cleypool*, not long before him also dyed, with an Ulcer in her Bladder, which caused such acute pains, that put her into a Fever, and in her raving Fits she much call'd upon that bloody Tyrant her Father, for she had been a Suitor for Dr. *Hewer's* life, knowing his Innocency, but was denied, which gave her a great disturbance, being sensible of her Father's Tyrannick sway, and Murtherous projects, and of the Peoples hate towards him. Her Death, as they say, went near his heart, being about the beginning of *August*, which, with the troubles he saw were about to rise from the Officers of the Army, fomented by *Fleetwood*, who had Married his Daughter; and *Desborow*, who had Married his Sister, gave him a fit of sickness, being at *Hampton-Court*, which he thought at first would pass over, being only a *Tertian* fever, and his private Chaplains fasted and prayed with him; and *Goodwin* openly declared, that God had heard his prayers, for him, and he was assured he should not dye that bout; but he was a false Prophet, for his Fever continuing with very ill symptoms, the Physicians not so confident as the Priests, caused him to be removed to *White-Hall*, and he had been there but few dayes, when they saw very plainly, that he had but few dayes to live; and this being made known to his Privy-Council, they were all very much starded; he finding himself now drawing towards his end, on the 31 of *August* he caused all people to go out of his Chamber, but *Goodwin* and *Thurlo*, to whom he declared, that he nominated his eldest Son *Richard Cromwell* to succeed him; but these thinking it too great

great a thing to be communicated to them alone, advised him to have more Witnesses, lest they should not be credited in so great a concern. He then bid them to send for the Council of 9, which were those he privately managed his more secret concerns by, and these were *Fleetwood, Fienes, Desborow, Whaly, Thurlo, Lawrence, Berry, Cooper and Goff*; most of this *Junto* being come to him, he declared that it was his will, that his Son *Richard* should succeed him as *Protector*: *Fleetwood* bit his lips, having been fool'd into hopes of the *Protectorship*, as well as *Lambert*, but little was then said, and on the 3^d day of *September 1658*, memorable to *Oliver* for two great Victories, *Dunbar* and *Worcester*, he yielded to the great Victor Death, and march'd off the Stage of this World in peace, after he had trod it in Blood, War, Rapine, Oppression, Cruelty, Usurpation and Tyranny. Though the report went, the Devil fetch'd him away in the storm, which the night before his Death was so violent, that many of the great Trees in *St. James's Park* were blown up by the Roots, and that he had seven years before made a Compact with the Devil, that he might obtain the Dominion of the three Kingdoms, and not be prevailed against: but these are Stories, and God's Providence unsearchable.

I have already given a character of this Man, and a short account of some passages of his Life, before he ascended to his Greatness. He was, no doubt, a man of extraordinary parts, and raised up by God for such great undertakings, as a scourge to this Nation, which was full of evil humours, and had entertained a spirit of Rebellion against both God, the Church, and the King; and that they might behold their errors by those dismal effects that followed upon their unnatural Rebellion; and perceiving them, might not in the same age, at least, run into the like, nor pull the like fatal consequences upon their heads,

as Usurpation, and Arbitrary Rule and Tyranny either in many, or in one, which God avert, and send peace and tranquility in our dayes. But yet the Memory of this Man is adored by many to this day, and he is the Idol of some, who will yet speak great things of him, though without reason, and putting our decay of trade upon the present ill management of affairs, when indeed it is but the consequence of our Civil Wars, and the great expence of Money, drained away from the *Royalists*, the vast sums raised on the people by Taxes, Assessments and Excise, which coming into the Soldiers pockets, they set it going into motion; which with the vast sums raised on the sale of the Kings, Queens, Princes, Bishops and Delinquents Lands, made a flood of money for the present, and nothing of want then appeared, which was the effect rather of the Tyrant's rapacity, than good management; for when this glut began to fall again into the private sinks of rich men, who lived by the use of money; and others who had any great sums fallen to their shares, fearing the iniquities of the times, and knowing no man could promise himself to be long master of his own, especially money, where the Will of the Tyrant was Law, and whom to disoblige was fatal, they remitted vast sums for their security into the bank in *Holland*, making them rich, by trading with our money, whilst we sat contented with 3 l. per cent for to be secure; so that our trade fell, and in some time after a scarcity of money appeared, which such who only look on the present time, and considered not truly the reason, attributed to the ill management of the present Governour, or of those who sat at the Helm. And therefore we may say, that the low ebb of Trade in our time had its beginning in *Oliver's* time. And we may likewise consider, that in his short Usurpation, which was but four years and nine months, there was shewn so much Tyranny, Oppression and Injustice, as (excepting the time of the Rump sitting)

sitting) was not to be parallell'd in any of the Kings since the Conquest. Besides in his latter days, when his fears began to render him cruel, he valued neither honesty or honour, when they stood in the way of his Ambition, and therefore to me 'tis a wonder, for what it was they admired this Man; and must be caus'd either by partiality or ignorance. As for his Politicks, his Peace with *France*, and his War with *Spain*, was certainly against the Interest of *England*, in lessning the latter, and making the former too great for Christendom, and loosing the ballance which *England* ought carefully to keep between those two Monarchs, And then his impolitic Peace with the *Dutch*, on so easie terms, when brought with great expence of *English* Blood and Treasure, to that extremity, that *England* mought have had what terms they would, so that the whole world thought him infatuated, in losing so great an opportunity of doing good to this Nation. Then there is nothing more certain, that all the Persecution that hath since hapned in *France*, of that King's Protestant Subjects, was the effects of his joyning in a League with *France* at that time; by which means that King humbled *Spain*, and made way for his Conquests in *Flanders* since atchieved, and inabled him to subdue all Factions at home, which were then arising, and brought him into a condition, to need none of them, being grown since the scourge and terror of Christendom. His Shamefull defeat at *Hispaniola*, with the loss of 1500 Merchants Ships to the *Spaniard* in that War, as was made appear to *Richard's* Parliament, and in his spending such vast sums of money, and yet leaving a vast debt upon the Kingdom, as appeared by the Accounts brought into *Richard's* Assembly, may stand in balance against his Victories, and shew that he was not always successfull, and that he had not managed his affairs with that frugality and wisdom, as some have thought he did, when as by his own accounts it appeared,

appeared, notwithstanding the great incomes he had, and the many Parliamentary supplies, he had contracted a debt of no less than 1900000 *l*. As for his Tyranny and Oppression, 'tis needless to mention it, that may be seen throughout this History. Yet I cannot but instance here, that injustice of his to *John Lilburn*, who had been tryed for his Life by the Long Parliament, and acquitted, and by them discharged; yet because *Oliver* knew him a dangerous man, and one that might give him a trouble, caused him to be tryed a second time; and though then also cleared by the Law, yet according to his own Arbitrary Will, against Law, and with all injustice and cruelty imaginable, kept him close Prisoner so long, that he was almost consumed by sickness, that he turned him out only to dye. Again, What greater injustice could there be, than that shown to *Mr. Cony*, who being a Prisoner at *Cromwell's* Suit; and being brought to the King's or upper Bench-bar, as they call'd it, by an *Habeas Corpus*, causes his Counsel to be violently taken from the Bar, and sent to the *Tower*, for no other reason, than the Pleading his Clients Cause; such an Act of violence, as cannot be parallell'd in all the History of *England*. Yet this blessed man is admired. As for his ingratitude that appeared to *Sir Henry Vain*, who above all persons in the world was the cause of his advancement, and had long espoused his Interest, yet he studied to destroy him both in his Life and Estate, because he would not adhere to his perjury and falseness: And because *Vain* opposed him, he imprison'd him, and would have proceeded farther against him. In *Richard's* Assembly, upon the complaint of several Prisoners, kept close in the *Tower*, many being sent away most inhumanely, and sold for Slaves beyond Seas; the Lieutenant being sent for, and demanded by what Authority he had kept those in his custody so long Prisoners, he produced a Paper written all with *Oliver's* own hand; in which

were these words: *Sir, I pray you seize such and such persons, and all others, whom you shall judge dangerous men, doe it quickly, and you shall have a Warrant for it after you have done.* Upon which *Richard's* Assembly Voted this Commitment of the Complainants, to be illegal, unjust and Tyrannical as no doubt it was. This was a spice of his Justice, whereby any man was rendred obnoxious not only to himself, but to the malice or spleen of his Lieutenant, though he were never so innocent: And at this rate, he might take up and imprison whom he pleased, and no man was in safety, and that by the chief Governour's Warrant, who by Law can Commit no man by his own Warrant: And this too without any cause shewn, why or wherefore. And the same men Voted, that those banish'd or sent away were unjustly, and against all Law so sent away, for the Law says no *English* man ought to be banished, by less authority than by Act of Parliament: and ordered forthwith the Prisoners to be set free, without Fees or Charges; and had they sat longer, had undoubtedly punished the Lieutenant too. Then after publick faith given, and the party restored to Common Privileges, he caused that most horrid Order of Decimation to be put in execution, on the poor Cavaliers by his *Janizaries*, which was by the ensuing *Parliament* damned as an unjust and wicked breach of Faith. This however is the great, the just, the brave, victorious, pious and most renowned *Oliver*, who, as I have said, is yet by some remembered even to a kind of Idolatry; but I shall leave him, having long since received his deserved reward, and conclude with the rapture of *Stevy*, who Preaching his Funeral Sermon, had these blasphemous expressions of him: *As sure (says he) as this is the Bible, (which he held in his hand) the blessed spirit of Oliver Cromwell is with Christ, at the right hand of the Father; and if he be there, what may not his family expect from him; for if he were so usefull and helpfull,*
and

and so much good influenced from him to them, when he was in a Mortal State, how much more influence will they have from him, now in heaven; The Father, Son and Spirit, through him bestowing Gifts and Graces upon them. I shall now proceed to the second Scene of this single Usurpation and Tyranny, which brought his Son, short-liv'd Dick, upon the Stage.

Oliver being thus dead, on the 3d of September, about three of the Clock in the afternoon, he was opened and embalmed; but he stunk so filthily, though wrapt in Cearcloths and Lead, with Aromatick Spices, that they were fain to bury him privately; but a Coffin was carried to *Somerset-house*, where after some days, with his Effigies made for that purpose, he seem'd to lye in great state, pomp and magnificence, to which sight crouds of people daily pressed. The out-rooms all hung with black, with Scutchcons hanging on the Walls, but the room where the Effigies lay was hung with black Velvet, and the Ceiling of the same, having a large Canopy of the same deeply fringed: the Effigies being Robed in Purple Velvet, laced with Gold Lace, and furred with Ermins, with strings and tassels of Gold: In its right hand a Sceptre, in its left a Globe, on his head a Velvet Cap furred with Ermins, and behind his head placed high on a Chair of Tissued Gold, was set an Imperial Crown: Eight Silver Candlesticks of about five foot high stood about his Bed of Seate, with large white Waxtapers burning, of three foot long, all environed with Rails and Ballistets covered with Velvet, within which stood men in Mourning bare-headed, which was continued for many weeks, and then the Effigies was removed into another room, and vested as before, set up in a standing posture, with the Crown upon his head; which it seems he now obtained, though he could not wear it while alive. Thus they continued this Pageantry to the 23d of November following, when his Funeral was made, and he carried in great pomp to *Westminster*, with more cost and state

than ever was bestow'd on any King of England; costing they say 266000 l. or more, and at last was interred among the Kings and Queens of England, where he lay till the 30th of January 1660, when he had a Resurrection to another Exaltation at Tyburn, where he was a second time interr'd under the Gallows, according to his demerits, with his great Counsellors, Ireton and Bradshaw.

But we will leave the dead, and relate, in brief, the Transactions of the living. *Oliver* being gone, the Privy Council met, and a search was made in the Protector's Cabinet, for a Paper safely lay'd up, wherein he had nominated *Fleetwood* for his Successor; but it was not to be found, therefore they sent to him and *Desborow* to know, if they did acquiesce in the Declaration of the late Protector, which made his Son *Richard Cromwell* Protector. To which *Fleetwood* sent word that he cordially acquiesced in that Declaration of the late Protector's, concerning his Son's Succession, though any other Paper should be found, in which he had been formerly nominated his Successor. This done, the Council wait upon *Richard*, to Condole with him for his Father's Death, and to Congratulate him as Protector. Then *Skippon* and *Strickland* were sent to the City, to acquaint them with what was done, and the next day they caused a Proclamation to be made, subscribed by *Whiverton*, Lord Mayor, the Council of State, and several Officers of the Army, at *White-Hall*, *Charing-Cross*, *Fleetstreet*, and several places in *London*, Proclaiming *Richard Cromwell* Protector of the Commonwealth of England, &c. After which the City-Sword by the Lord Mayor, and the Seal by *Fiennes* were resigned to him, and his Oath was given him by *Fiennes*, one of the Commissioners of the Great Seal, in which he Swore to maintain the Protestant Religion in its purity, and to govern the three Nations according to the best of his power and skill, according to the Laws. After which he dispatches Messengers to *Ireland*, to inform his brother *Harry*, Deputy there, and to General *Monk* in
Scot-

Scotland, to inform them, and to know how they stood affected to his Advancement. And presently he receives Addresses from most of the Counties in *England*, contrived and made at *White-Hall*, and Proteſtations from the Armies in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, to live and dye with him: Also Addresses from the Independent Churches, as *Goodwins*, *Nyes*, and the rest of them, many giving Adoration to this rising false light, forgetting the true Sun yet in Eclipse beyond Sea; and the fawning Poets, *Waller* and *Dryden*, among the rest praised to the Skies, in their Elegies the dead Tyrant: *Richard* was proclaimed both at *Dublin* and at *Edenborough*, and all things ran smooth on his side. But however General *Monk* liked not the Tyrannical sway of the Army in *England*, but so early began to form the happy project of his Majestie's Restauration, without which he well perceived these Kingdoms would not be in any settled posture, but be still subject to any Usurper or Usurpers, the Army should set up: but this was a great work, and time not yet ripened for it, he kept the secret in his own breast, and intended to take opportunity by the forelock, complying for the present as others did, but in the mean time with great diligence he reformed his Army, and purg'd it from those ill humours, as he knew would soon bring it to destruction; but this also he did wisely and cautiously, and by degrees, for fear of causing too early jealousies of his design.

Richard seeing the many Addresses made to him from the People and Army, and the caresses and flatteries of great ones, being a man of no great reach, thought all had been real, and now began to form to himself an Imagination of settling himself in his Usurpation, and to look somewhat shy on those of the Royal-Party he had before caressed, and done kindness for, shewing more state and greatness than formerly, and growing more reserved to his familiars. But moneys growing scarce, his Council advises him forthwith to call a Parliament, and accordingly Summons are issued out for this Con-

vention to meet at *Westminster* on the 27th of *January*. Elections being made after the usual manner, tho some would have opposed it, and by sending Writs to the several Boroughs, they thought they should get a Parliament to their minds, but were deceived. *Ireland* and *Scotland* also sent each 30, according to the Model of Government, and for the upper House the chiefest Officers of the Army were pitch'd upon, but many of them were of such base extraction, that the Commons could hardly be brought to own them. *Richard* began to have some jealousy of the Army, and finding many of his Council too great favourers of them, and of their power, he began to cast about to have brought in others of his friends to ballance them; but he found such opposition, that he could not bring it about. On the other side, the Army and Sectarian Officers began to be afraid of the ensuing Parliament, and therefore some of them advised him to follow his Father's steps, who was accustomed at such a time to cause the chiefest Officers of the Army to come up to *London*, and to be assistant to him on such occasions. This startled *Richard*, being as much afraid of the Army, as they were of this approaching Convention, yet wanting his Father's courage and resolution, he sent for many of the Army to Town from their Commands, where they had the opportunity of Caballing and laying designs for his destruction. Besides, *Lambert*, by the favour of *Fleetwood*, was got again into Command, and had a Regiment given him, and was as much in the favour of the Sectaries as ever. *Richard* was as yet General, when *Desborow* and others would have perswaded him, that the Army being discontented, and ready to mutiny, the best way for him would be to settle it on some known Officer amongst them, and nominated *Fleetwood*: but *Richard* it seems was not so very a fool as to divest himself of that Command, but told them, that by his Father's example, he would keep that for a security both to them and to himself, without which he could not protect them, and that the

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Parliament which was suddenly to meet, would give them satisfaction as to their Grievances, to whom he should remit them.

And now at the time prefixed, the Parliament meet, consisting of two Houses, the other House beginning now to be called the upper House; for the Commons was chosen, Mr. Chute a Lawyer, as their Speaker; who sickning, Long, Recorder of London, was chosen *pro tempore* in his stead; and for the upper House, Nathaniel Fiennes, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal was their Speaker. The first fortnight was taken up about the Recognition, with which they were awhile intangled, but at last they Vote; and it was Resolved on Monday 14th of February, That it be part of this Bill to Recognize and declare his Highness, Richard, Lord Protector, and chief Magistrate of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the Dominions and Territories thereunto belonging. Resolved, That before this Bill be Committed, the House do declare such additional Clauses to be part of this Bill, as may bound the power of the chief Magistrate, and fully secure the Rights and Privileges of Parliament, and the Liberties and Rights of the People; and that neither this, or any other previous Vote, that is, or shall be passed in order to this Bill, shall be of force and binding to the people, till the whole Bill be passed. This done, a Committee of Inspections is settled, to take a view of the Accounts and the Revenue of the Commonwealth: of which Mr. Scowen was Chairman. The Commonwealths-men, who were considerable in this Convention, cunningly put in many Debates to gain time; which they did, though the Protectorian party were the major, and so could effect little; yet they had hopes of the infection of the Army, which they knew by means of their Emissaries spread much; for at Wallingford-house, Fleetwood, Desborow and Lambert, with several others, held their Consults for the disposing of Richard, and Fleetwood was courted to take the Protectorship upon him: Richard had notice given him of their proceedings, and some of his friends

friends advised him to cut them off, and profer'd to do it if he would be Resolute, and stick to them; but *Richard* was timorous and fearfull, and had not courage enough to give them such a Commission, and so lost his opportunity of settling himself.

In the mean time the King had sent a Commission to *Arthur Anslow*, now Earl of *Anglesea*, to *John Morland*, Brother to the Earl of *Peterborough*, *Sir John Greenville*, *Sir Tho. Peyton* and *William Leg*, giving them power as his Commissioners, to treat with any of his Subjects of *England* (excepting the Regicides) and to offer them his pardon, if they would now joyn together for his Restoration, and also to assure them of Rewards and Recompence, for any service done for the future towards the bringing in of his said Majesty, and that whatever those his Commissioners should promise in his name, he would ratifie and confirm. This was dated at *Brussels* 11 *March* 1649. By this means, and by the wary management of these Gentlemen, the King's designs began to thrive better than formerly, being still betray'd by *Thurlo's* Agents. So that now there were several Interests at work, and bringing several designs to the Anvil: The King's for his just Rights and Restoration. *Richard's* for the settling himself in his unjust Usurpation. The Commonwealths-men to regain their lost Dominion and Tyranny; and the *Army* to keep their Rule, and the people in slavery, and to set up a Governour of their own, and that might be only ruled by their Power. These have all their several close Cabals, and all strenuously busie one against another.

Upon a report made by Secretary *Thurlo*, concerning the State of the War betwixt *Sweden* and *Denmark*, the Parliament send General *Mounague* with a considerable Fleet into the Sound, but so straiten'd in Commission, that he did little good. The Military-Council of Officers were very high, and favoured much by the upper House, which much distastet the Commons; and made them Vote, That during the sitting of the Parliament, there should be no general Meeting or Council of Officers.

Officers of the Army, without direction, leave and authority of the Protector, and both Houses of Parliament. Richard upon this, by advice, sends for the Council of Officers, and dismisses them. And the Commons proceed to a farther Vote: Resolved, That no person should have or continue Command in any of the Armies in England, Scotland or Ireland, &c. that should refuse to subscribe, That he will not disturb or interrupt the free meeting in Parliament; of any of the Members of either House, or their freedoms in their Debates or Counsels. This was transmitted to the other House, who now began to be jealous of a Combination between Richard and the Commons, against the power of the Army, and that they sought to weaken and divide them, so that they did not readily assent to this Vote. Besides, they were not a little displeased at another Vote of the Commons, concerning their Transacting with them as another House; which was, That the acknowledgment of that House for another House of Parliament should not prejudice the Possession of the Land, or their Privileges. And further the Commons Voted, That they would receive no Message from those of the other House, but by some of their own number. Neither would they treat with this upper House, as an House of Lords, but found out a new word, to transact with them, and that upon tryal, and during this present Parliament, which they foresaw would not be long, in continuance. The chief of the Officers of the Army were for the Protector, but the more numerous being Sectaries or Phanaticks were for Fleetwood, Desborough and the Wallingfordians, who had made them to believe, that Richard had an intent to cast them out of Commissions, and that he would put the Army into the Nobilities and Gentries hands, who would bring in the King, and destroy the Liberty of the Gospel they had so long fought for.

Thus all parties being highly jealous one of another, none knew how it would end; but since the Power of the Sword, and the Arbitrary and Tyrannick sway of the Army was greatest, it might be well expected they would

would prove the strongest party for the rest, having not an *Oliver* to deal with. However the Commons like *English* men, went on, resolving for many good Acts, mought they have been permitted to sit to finish them. One was (as they thought) pleasing to the Army, that care might be taken for the payment of their Arrears. They began to assert their Interest in the *Militia*, and had under their Consideration an Act for the taking away of the *Excise* and new *Impost*, and concerning *Customs*, *Tonnage* and *Poundage* after three years. Likewise they Vindicated the Peoples Liberties, by setting *Overton* and other Prisoners at liberty, imprisoned by *Oliver*, and declared against the illegality of sending men away to Foreign Plantations, out of the reach of the Writ of *Habeas Corpus*, whereby an *English* Subject could not have the benefit of the Law. And a strict Bill was preparing against it, with an intent to have punish'd that cruel Jaylor *Barkstead*; also they had ordered an Impeachment to be drawn up against *Butler*, one of *Cromwells* *Bastards*, for his many Insolencies put upon Magistrates, and for his breach of all Laws, and his most Tyrannical Actions, equal to any *Turkish* *Bastard*. The Committee of Inspections also brought in the State of Accounts, Military and Civil; whereby it appeared, that the yearly incomes of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, were Eighteen hundred sixty five thousand seven hundred and seventeen pounds: and that the yearly issues amounted to Two millions two hundred and one thousand five hundred and forty pounds: so that there was a yearly debt contracted upon the Kingdom of 301540 *l.* double the Revenue that ever any King of *England* enjoy'd. Besides, to maintain the Conquest of *Scotland* more than its Revenue was expends 163619 *l.* These people acted fairly and squarely, and mought they have sat, would have done much good; they gave one another no *Gratuities*, nor Offices, nor granted any Money from the People, which was more than could have been said of any Parliament for a long time before them.

These Actions of theirs, and seeing the People began

gan to have them in esteem, caused now the *Protector*, as well as the Army, to grow jealous of them, as well as of one another, so that constant Guards were kept by *Richard* and the Army, for fear of one another; and though the House expected a Dissolution, they could not yet tell which way it would come, or which party to fear most: In the mean time they give order, for the drawing up an Act of Indemnity to quiet peoples minds. But on the 22^d of *April*, *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, and other chief Officers, follow'd by a great part of the Army, repair to *Richard* at *White-Hall*, with a Commission ready drawn, and directed to *Piennes* for Dissolving the Parliament, giving him several Reasons for their so doing, but for some time he obstinately refuses, and was advised by some of his Confidants to cause his Troops to be drawn up, and to appear in the head of them; but he was fearfull and irresolute, and the other party violent and insolent; for his Uncle *Desborow* told him, that unless he would consent, they would doe it without him, and so by threats and importunities he signed the Commission for Dissolving this Parliament. This is sent to *Piennes*, who twice sent the Black Rod to the Commons, who scorn'd the Message, and would not admit him; but hearing there were Guards of Horse and Foot drawn up in the *Palace-yard*, and that there was like to be a force put upon them, they adjourned themselves for three days, and the Speaker was attended by all the House to his Coach, through all the Soldiery. Upon this they cause the Proclamation, which they had ready for the Dissolving the Parliament, to be published, and declared them Dissolved: and thus *Richard* dethrobed himself; and though *Fleetwood* and *Desborow* did not think to go so far, as utterly to deject him, nor having yet agreed what Government to set up; yet after this was done, the more numerous, though inferiour Officers of the Army would not hear of a *Protector* any more, crying that vast allowance allotted for him, would go a great way in the maintenance of the Army, but resolve for the

the present that *Fleetwood* should have the chief Command of the Army, and to dispose of all vacant Offices till further order, and till they could consider of a fit Model of Government. Thus *Richard* fairly is laid aside, and quietly marches off the Stage, nor long after retiring into the Country, having a promise from them, that they would take care for the payment of his debts, which by reason of his Father's Funeral charge, were very great.

This was a kind of *Interregnum*, all was in confusion, and no man knew what to doe. The Parliament after three days repair to their House, but they find the doors lock'd, and guarded by Red-coats, and all the Avenues stopp'd with Soldiers, who denied them entrance, telling them *Richard's* business was at an end, as well as theirs, by whose power they sat: and thus ended this Parliament, who were not able to struggle with armed Power, *Fleetwood* and *Desborough* had their hands full, and they had, as they say, pull'd an old house upon their heads; for *Lambert*, tho at first he appeared for *Fleetwood* and his party, designed nothing less than the serving of them; and since he was not able, but by some other Authority to get into the Supreme Command of the Army, which he aimed at for a further advance of himself, by his party he caused the *Rump* Parliament to be proposed again, to a great Consultation of the Officers of the Army meeting at *St. James's*, where they were seeking God for a Government, with *Dr. Owen* and other Independent Ministers amongst them, which affected them very much. But this alarm'd *Fleetwood* and his party, who found the Army mutinous and troublesome, and not to be governed now by their Commands, and the few days they reigned, the Government lying like an heavy burthen upon their shoulders, they were forced to comply, and follow the stream; and in order thereto, the *Protectorian* Colonels, as *Ingoldsby*, *Howard*, *Falconbridge*, *Bridg*, *Whaly*, *Goff*, *Norton*, *Smith* and others were put out, and *Commonwealths-men* or *Rumpers* put in their stead. And thus fully ended the Usurpation and Tyranny of the *Cromwells*.

And

And now we may say, we are come to the third Act of Tyrannical Usurpation, and the many-Headed Monster the *Rump*-Parliament arises again and shews it self, after having been so many years desunct. For the souldiers, as I have said, not knowing what to do, send now for their old drudges to sit again, whom they had formerly pull'd out by the Ears, with so much Infamy and ill language, and after several private Conferences among the Chief of either side, and articles proposed for the securing the Armie (for the *Rump* would sit upon any terms) a declaration of the Armie came forth, inviting this *Rump* to return to the exercise of their charge, and trust: telling them, in many canting terms, of the dangers and deliverances God had brought them through, and perceiving now with Grief, that the good spirit among them did dayly decline, so as the *good old cause* became a reproach: and now calling to mind that the long Parliament, consisting of those members who continued sitting till the 20th. of April 1653. were eminent asserters of that cause, and had a special presence of God with them, and were signally blessed in their work, they judged it their duty to invite the said Members to the discharge of their trust, for the settling and securing the peace of the common wealth, promising to be aiding and assisting to them, &c.

And now all the Members in Town, the Jailes being search'd for some of them, who lay there for debt, get together on the 7th. of May in the Painted chamber at Westminster, accompanied with their old Speaker, *Lenthall*, to the number of about 42, who for haire haveing the Chancery Mace carried before them, stole into their house before expected; not a little glad to have gotten into their old nest, after so many years exclusion. The names of these famous men were, *Lenthall*, their Speaker, *Lord Monson*, *Harry Martin*, *Lisle*, *Whitlock*, *Chalener*, *Wise*, *Alderman Atkins*, *Penington*, *Scot*, *Holland*, *Vain*, *Prideaux*, *Sr. James Harrington*, *Ludlow*, *Oldsworth*, *Hazlerig*, *Jones*, *Parsey*, *White*, *Harry Nevil*, *Say*, *Bennet*, *Blagrove*, *Brewster*, *Sir John Wild*, *Goodwin*, *Letchmore*, *Skinner*, *Dowse*, *Dove*, *John Lenthall*, &c.

Salomon the Grocer, Corbet, Wallon, Millington, the Church-snuffers, Gold, Sydenham, Bingham, Aire, Smith, one of the 6 clarks, Ingoldsby and Fleetwood. These *Rumpers* being thus reestablished, and addressed by sundry Addressers from the Counties, which afterwards stood them in as much stead, as those which were made before to *Richard Cromwell* did him; They cause the Officers of the Armie to resigne their o'd Commissions, and to receive new ones from them, which they thought no small tye; but *Calderatesmer* with *Menactidas*, as afterwards it proved. Some of the old Members who had been seclused in 1648. required to be admitted with the rest, hoping that their presence might prevent much mischeif, tho' they had little or no expectation of doing much good, by reason the Armies backing the other party. The names of the seclused Members that now sought for admittance were, *Mr. Anslow, Sr. George Booth, Mr. James Herbert, Mr. Prynne, Mr. Montague, Sr. John Eveling, Mr. John Herbert, Mr. Gawen, Mr. Eveling, Mr. Clive, Mr. Kniggtley, Mr. Hungerford, Mr. Harley, and Mr. Peck.* But these could not be admitted into the house, but were stopped in the Lobby, onely *Mr. Prynne* and *Hungerford* getting in, and begining to dispute with them upon the point made them adiourn and loose a days time: after which attempting the like, they found a Troop of Horse and two Companies of red-Coats, the *Keepers of the liberties of England*, to keep them out, so that they were forced to return, seeing there was no good to be done with these persons, who began to follow their old steps, of trampling the priviledges of Parliament under foot, the ancient Laws and Constitutions of the land, and the Liberties and Rights of the people. For they forthwith ordered, That such persons hereafter Members of this Parliament, as have not sat in this Parliament since the year 1648, and have not subscribed the Engagement, in the Rol of Engagement of this House, shall not sit in this House till further order of Parliament. They had the first day of their sitting put forth a Declaration, among many other things, declaring, They would apply themselves faithfully to the discharge of their trust, and to the settlement

the Common Wealth, as might establish the Property and Liberties of the people, without a single person, Kingship, or House of Peers, and vigourously carry on a Reformation, that there may be a godly and faithfull Magistracy and Ministry in the Nation, to the praise of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the reviving and making glad the Hearts of the upright in the Land. See the holy Cant, and what good words they use, having not forgot their old Trade of cutting the peoples Throats with good words; nor their old way of helping one another: for on the 29th of May, they order, That all such as shall be employed in any place of Trust or Power in the Commonwealth, be able for the discharge of such Trust, and that they be persons fearing God, and that have given Testimony to all the people of God, their faithfulness to this Commonwealth, according to the Declaration of the 7th of May. Here are the Godly now setting up themselves again, in their old Throne of the Good Old Cause, that had been so abominably distastful to the whole Nation. And forthwith this Godly Parry, as they nominated themselves, begin apace to thrust one another into all Offices of the State, and for that end they appoint a Council of State, into whose hands they put the dispose of all places of most Profit and Trust; yea of the Command of the wealth of the Kingdom: These Godly ones of the House were, the Godly Sir Arthur Haslerig, the pious Sir Henry Vain, the Holy Man Ludlow, Jones, Sydenham, Salaway, Fleetwood and the Chaste, Mr. Scot, with Walton, Nevil, Harrington, Chaloner, Demus, Whitlock, Morley, Sydney, Thomson, Dixwel, Reynolds, Oliver St. Johns, Wallop, and without the House were the like Godly Men, Bradshaw, Lambert, Desborow, Fairfax, Berry, Sir Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Sir Horatio Townsend, Sir Robert Holmwood, Sir Archibald Johnson and Josiah Berners.

These, under the Mask of the Good Old Cause, begin to amass to their old Villanies, and to the enriching themselves, with the poor remainders of the spoils of the people. On the 12th of May, Lambert, accompanied with Desborow, Barksted, and 12 other Colonels of the Army, present a Petition to the House from the Army, containing their desires concerning the Government. That

the Government might be a free State and Commonwealth, without a single Person, Kingship, or House of Peers. That there might be a due regulation of the Laws. That an Act of Oblivion might be passed. That the Laws and Ordinances made in the several changes of the Government, and not repealed may be good in Law. That the publick Debts might be paid. That a Liberty of Conscience be granted to all, excepting Papists and Episcopists. That a godly Ministry be encouraged. That Universities and Schools of Learning be countenanced, and Reformed. That all Royalists be discountenanced and not suffered to have any place of Trust. That none may have places of Trust, but such as are eminent for Godliness, Constancy, and Faithfulness to the good Cause and Interest of the Nations. That a provision be made for Succession of Parliaments. That *Fleetwood* may be the Lieutenant-General of the Army. That the Legislative power may be in the Representatives of the People, consisting of an House successively chosen by the People. That the executive power may be in a Council of State, consisting of a certain number of qualified persons. That the Debts contracted by his late Highness and his Father, might be paid; and that a Revenue of 10000 *l. per Annum*, might be settled upon the late Protector and his heirs for ever; and 10000 *l. per Annum*, more during his Life, and 8000 *l.* upon his honourable Mother during her Life, &c. This was the Armies project of Government, for which they receive the thanks of the House by their Speaker, and are told there are many weighty things contained in it, which they would take into their Consideration. And upon this, before they would make any settlement upon the late Protector, they send to him for an Acknowledgment of his submission to the Government, which he formally sent them in hopes of the Settlement, with a Schedule of his Debts. But they refuse to pay them, and delay making any Settlement either on Him or his Mother, for they were sort of Persons who never lov'd to give away money from themselves. Yet to please him, and to remove him from

ther from them, they give him 2000 pounds to discharge some part of his Debts, and required that he and all his Dependences remove from *Whitehall* in six days. *Fleetwood* began to grow discontented at this slighting his Brother: but to please him, they Vote him to be the Commander in Chief of all the Armies and Land-Forces in *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for one year; and that he should have power to Sign Commissions, and nominate Officers under him, as should be approved by the Parliament. But upon the second Reading of the Bill for this purpose, they altered their minds, and ordered all Commissions for the Land and Sea-Forces to be Signed by the Speaker, and delivered to the Officers *Gratis*. They also Order the Government of *Ireland* to be by Commissioners, and *Henry Cromwel* to be removed. 'Tis thought if he had stirred at that time, being much beloved by the Officers of his Army there, he might have disappointed this Parliament of any further proceedings, but being over persuaded, he quietly left his Authority. *Scotland* was yet a trouble to them, which they knew not how to get into their hands: for *General Monk* kept all things in so great Order and quietness there, and was so prudent in all his Actions, that they could not find fault with him, nor mistrust him, but believed him really their Friend.

They now begin to proceed vigorously, and cause the Protector's Seal to be broken, and confirm their own old one: of which *Terryl*, *Fountain*, and infamous *Bradshaw* are made Commissioners, very busie they are of preferring one another to places of proffit: and about the beginning of *June*, keeping close to their *Good Old Cause* of Gain, they ordered a Bill for publick Sales to be brought in. And now *White-Hall*, *Somerset-House*, *Hampton-Court*, and all that *Cromwell* had kept for himself, are ordered to be sold for ready money. And beginning with the Deer, they fall to selling them, by five or six Brace at a time. And that no Stone might be unturn'd, for the getting of money, they project to make all such persons, who had assumed Dignities or Titles of Honor, heretofore conferred on them by the late King, taken away by Act of Parliament,

Parliament, to pay the summs forfeited by the said Act. Then they offer at an Act for the making all honours conferred by *Charles Stewart* voyd and null. Then they fall to their old trade of raising monies by Assessments, and continue the Excise and Customs to the 1st of *October*. And that they may hook in all they can, they authorize the collecting of an Assessment granted by the Parliament 1656 for 3 years, one year of which was yet behind and uncollected, this was 35000 *l.* a month on *England*, 6000 *l.* on *Scotland*, and 9000 *l.* a month on *Ireland*: thus they owned not the authority of that Parliament, yet they owned their money Assessed by them, and put it into their own pockers. They next revive their Committee of plundering Ministers; and make an order for impressing of Seamen which they wanted. Then they make their Speaker *Custos Rotulorum* of *Oxfordshire* and *Berks*. *Sir Hen Mildmay* of *Essex*, and several other places to the chief of their members; following their old vocation of shareing all among themselves. The Government of *Jersey* to *Colt. Mison*; *Cooper*, *Zanker*, *Sadler*, and *Laurence* have Regiments given them in *Ireland*. All things seem to submit to their power, and *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desbroun*, and the rest, are forced to receive their Commissions from their General *Mr Speaker*, which tho' dissatisfied, dissemblingly they submit to.

It was very much admired that the Parliament should imagine, that the Armie would be true to them, or that any Oaths would hold them, when they had seen them so often break their former Allegiance to themselves, and to their late Protector: and on the other side, it was as much admired, that the Armie would thus trust this Parliament or *Junto*, they had so grossly abused: for they could not believe, that the *Junto* would not remember their doings, and so provide for their own security and establishment, as to ruine the Armie if they could. But out of all this evil God was now a forming good. For the Government of the Armie under the Speaker the General, they made 7 Commissioners, namely Lieutenant General *Fleetwood*, *Sir Hen. Vaine*, *Sir Arthur Hazlerig*, Colonels

Colonels Lambert, Desborow, Ludlow, and Berry. These were very active in their authority, placing and displacing many Officers in the Armie, by the Parliaments consent. All things seem succeed to very fortunately to them, and Lockhart Governour of Dunkirk submits to them, to whom they send over Peirson, Ashfeild, and Packer, Colonels. To Ireland they send their Commissioners Steelones, Thomlinson, and Goodwin, and for the command of the Armie Colonel Ludlow with the title of Lieutenant General. Embassadors from the United Provinces come over to congratulate them, and to offer their amity, as also from many other places were coming; so that they now began to think themselves sure. They had a mind to new model Monk's armie in Scotland and were providing to doe it, which Monk had timely notice of by his Agents in London, which made him write to the Parliament, in which he told them, that he thought himself fit to be credited in the qualifications of his own Officers, whom he assured them, were honest and stout men, and for whose fidelity he would be engaged. This letter troubled them, being the first rub they had met with, yet they hoped to get over it: for they were now more eagre to have creatures of their own stamp in that Armie, and think with good words to pacifie Monk, letting him know as to his own Regiment, they would make no alteration. But Monk was not satisfied with this, but sent up some Officers to sollicite at London in behalf of themselves and the rest. Then the Junto made an Order, that such Officers as were in Ireland and Scotland, because they could not receive their Commissions of the Parliament, should receive them from the hand of certain Commissioners named for the civil Government of both Kingdoms. But those for Scotland were not yet named, and Monk still continued his old Officers.

In the mean time, Somerset House was exposed to sale, at the yearly value of 233 l. the gross value of materials at 5545. ft. 1 s. 3 d. so he had not under 13 years purchase. And now, that they may seem kind to poor

did who began to fear an Arrest for the mourning took up for this fathers funeral, they give him a protection from all Arrests for 6 months, and take into consideration how that debt might be paid without charge to themselves.

And now these Tyrants who held their fellow subjects in slavery had some inck'ling of a Cavalier-plot, which made them very jealous of every body; so that few could meet upon any occasion but they were disturbed and some of them clapt up, for Conspirators. In July they put out their Act of Indemnity; but none were to have the benefit of this mock Act, but such who being above 16 years of age subscribed an Engagement against a single Person, Kingship and House of Peers. And all Cavaliers as would not take it were to be banish'd out of England; and if afterwards seen there to be proceeded against as Traytors, and to l. reward to the discoverer of such person, or persons. And now the poor Royalists were in a worse condition than ever after all their losses, sequestrations, decimations, and plund'rings, they must either go against their consciences or leave the land.

The Harvest was great and the labourers few, and in August the weather being sultry hot, many of the *Junto* were retired into the Country; so that they could hardly make an House upon which they make a strict Order that all (rotten) members attend the House, and that none depart without leave of the House. And now they order a Fast and day of Humiliation, and to shew that they were the same bloody men they were formerly, they proclaimed *J. mordant Esq.* with several others. Traytors, and order the Lady Howard, Sr E. Byron, and Mr. Summer to be brought to a tryal for treasonable designs. They seize upon persons, horses, and armes throughout London, increas and double their Guards, stop passengers, the Council of State sitting night and day, and all the Militia in the City, and throughout England were ordered to be drawn up for their security: for they were in a great confirmation about a plot, and began to court the people

people in their canting way, by their preachers, one of which said: *The Lord stir up the Hearts of his people, and fill them with unanimity and courage at this evil time against the common Enemy, Charles Stewart, and that desperate Crew of ravenous and unreasonable men, who, should they get in, to satisfy the rable of his followers would enslave you, and with your goods maintain forraigners, and the pomp and pride of a luxurious Court, and an absolute Tyranny.*

And it was not without cause, that these persons were put into such a fear, for there was a general rising to have been thorowout England, of all parties against these Rumpers: for the *Presbyterians*, and discarded *Protectionists*, began now to see their slavery, and to rack about, seeing a necessity of joining with the *Royalists*, and some of the greatest amongst them sue for the Kings pardon, and obtain it, and hereupon they cement with the *Cavaliers*, and the famous plot, or *St. George Booth's* rising was then formed; the King lying privately at *Calais* ready to have come over on the first getting together of any considerable body: But the design was too Early prevented, by being some way discovered to *Scot*, and some others, and by an intercepted letter of the *Lady Mary Howards*, who was clapt up with others about it; *Missy* is taken in *Gloucester shire*, but being carried behind a Trooper, by a party of Horse in the night, he took his time, and with a sudden jerk flung the trooper before him, and himself into a precipice, whereby he escaped; being better acquainted with the ways than they were. The Rumpers had got some knowledge of the design, and with their diligence had prevented it in many Countries. Yet *Sir George Booth* rose in *Chester*, with a considerable partie with *Sir Tho. Middleton*, Major *General Randolph*, *Egerton*, and others, they surprise *Chester*, *Liverpool*, *Chirk Castle*, and some other places, declaring only for a free Parliament: so that they had gotten together about 3000 men, but few well armed: presently the Rump proclame them *Rebells*, and *Traitors*: and *Lambert* comes against them with 3 Regiments of Horse, as many of Foot, and one of Dragoons, besides a Train of Artillery. Some of these

these should have joined Sir *George Booth*, had they seen that they had been in a capacity of doing any good, and of proceeding unanimously in their design; but in stead thereof there fel our unseasonable contests, between the old and the new Cavaliers, and the private animosities of the Gentry hind'ed much: every one that brought but 30 men would be a Captain, or take it very ill, so that by their unseasonable punctillio's, the publique int'rest received damage: and besides, it was no small daunting to them, finding that the design of Riseing was quash't in all other Countries, nor could they reduce the Castle of *Chester*, which Colonel *Croxtan* held out against them. But so soon as *Lambert* came up with his forces, the raw men, that made up the body of the force of Sir *George Booth* being also ill armed, were soon defeated at *Northwich*, August 19, Captain *Edward Morgan* was slain upon the place; *Egerton* fled, but was pursued and taken; Sir *Tho Middleton* got over sea: Sir *George Booth* escaped as far as *Newport Pannell*; where he was taken in disguise, and soon after committed close pris'ner to the Tower of *London*, for committing Treason in learying war against the common Wealth; and Sir *Hen. Vane* and Sir *Arth. Hazlerig* sent to him to take his examination. *Lambert* retakes all places that they had taken in, and by an order of Parliament disarms the Counties; They send him 1000 pounds, for a gratuity, which he, having other aims, distributes among his souldiers. Then they give order for a day of Tanks giving, for their success and presently prepare a new Oath of Abjuration; not thinking the Engagement sufficient, to be inforced upon the nation; wherein they are to abjure the whole line of King *James*, and tell the people they will now set themselves to doe something extraordinary towards the settlement of the Government. But Mony, the *Diana* of the *Ephesians*, and the Idol of the filthy *Rumpers*, is that they want; and therefore now impose a new tax upon the people of 200000 pounds a month, confirm the Excise, fine those that failed to supply their new molded Militia with
 & under color of a sanctimonious
 care

care of the poor, they make an inspection into the revenue of all Hospitals, prohibiting the Masters and Governors of them to renew any Leases. General Monk upon the rising of Sir George Booth, was in a readiness to have marched, but was prevented by their being so suddenly suppressed; the Rump had some jealousy of it, but he had carried his design so closely, and discovered it to so few, that nothing could be made appear against him. He was not a little troubled at these disasters, and finding the *Junto* busie in displacing those he most trusted at Col. Daniel; Governor of St. Johnstong, and many others fearing he should at last be outed by them of his command, and hopeless of doing good as he intended, he sends up a letter to the Parliament for a dismission from his command. This letter was, by his friends in London who had intimation thereof, suppressed, for some time, and his friends in the House so ordered it, that when it was delivered to the Speaker, the reading of it was deferred for ten days, till a packet came from Scotland to contradict it: tho' Vaine and others who had an inclining of it, called often to have this letter read, which they suspected. But the Speaker being persuaded to it by his friends, under the color, that if it were read, and that they should take him at his word, it would cause a general defection in the Scotch armie, among whom the famous Monk was so wel beloved, and might ruine their affairs, he being also true to their interests, tho' discontented at the displacing his Officers: This prevailed with the Speaker, wholly to suppress that Letter, and so the buisness passed over, the *Junto* being extream busie about many matters,

In the mean time Lambert and his Armie being affore, upon their late success, are providing other employment for the Rumpers. *Quos Deus perdere vult, ruina* The whole Nation had long wish'd for the ruine of them, and now their own dissensions will make way for it. Lambert, whom Cromwell had laid aside for his ambition, had his heart still full of the same. He keeps a mock Parliament with his Officers, an infallible token that some great

design was hatching, he had still a mind to the *Protectorship*, and in reference to that he and his complices remonstrated the necessity of the Armies being governed by general Officers, as it was before the Speaker had made himself General; and requested or petitioned that *Fleetwood* (whom *Lambert* doubted not to serve as *Cromwell* had done, *Fairfax*) might be made Lord General, and that himself might be Lieutenant General, and *Desborow* Major General of the Horse, and *Monk* Major General of the Foot, till he might have a good opportunity of laying him a side. This Remonstrance being drawn up into form, and signed, was sent up to London to the general Council of Officers, whether *Lambert* was privately gone, and by some of them the *Junto* came to hear of it, who were startl'd at it; how ever they dissemble with the Officers, and order, *Ashfeild*, *Cobbet*, and *Duckensfeild* to attend the House, with the petition, which they did: After the reading of which they adjourned till next morning, when, assuming the debate, they vote. *That to have any more Generall Officers in the Armie than are already sail'd by the Parliament, is needless, chargeable, and dangerous to the Common Wealth, and that Fleetwood should acquaint them with this Resolue.* This was ill resented by the Armie, and tho' for the present they seemed to acquiesce, (because their design was not fully ripe) and helped the *Junto*, in a friendly manner, to devour a Thanksgiving dinner, at the Citys cost and charges, which was then govern'd by *Ireton* and *Tichbourn*, and their gang; yet it was not long before they presented a new Address to the same purpose, on the 5th. of *October*, by *Desborow* and many Officers attending him. To this the *Rumpers* very gravely answer, checking them for not submitting to their judgment formerly declared in that case; but knowing that the armie Officers would not be so satisfied, and expecting no less than another interruption they passed an Act against raising of moneys on the people without their consent in Parliament, declaring all such persons as should assess, levie, collect, gather, or receive, contrary to this Act, to be guilty

guilty of high treason, and withall vacateing and annulling all Orders, Ordinances, and Acts, made by any pretended authority, since *Oliver* turn'd them out of doors in 1653, unless allowed and confirmed by them. And now having given such a killing blow to the souldiery, and made the breach irreconcilable; they-voted that the Commissions of *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Berry*, *Kelsey*, *Ashfeild*, *Cobbet*, *Pucker*, *Barrow*, and *Creed* (all Colonels excepting the last who was a Major) to be voyd; and constitute 7 Commissioners to govern the Armie, Viz. Lieutenant General, *Charles Fleetwood*, Lieutenant General *Edmond Ludlow*, General *George Monk*, Sir *Arthur Hazelrig*: Col. *Val. Walton*; Col. *Herbert Morley*, and Col. *Rob. Overton*, any 3 or more of them to of the *Quorum*. They were encouraged to this by a privat message they had received from General *Monk*, (who had constant intelligence of all that hap'ned, and of which he wisely made his advantages) which was, that if the Parliament would be resolute in asserting their own authority against the Armie, he would assist them in it, and if required thereto he would march into *England* in their defence. This made them very brisk, and now beleiving there might be some opposition made by the Armie, they cause *Morley's* and *Messel's* Regiments to be drawn up into the Palace yard, for a Guard to the Parliament. It was now high time for *Lambert* to look about him, and not being idle, thought it best to play his part while he had power: and therefore he, on the 13 of *October* with the other discharged Officers, drew a part of the Armie into *Kings street*, and possess themselves of all the avenues to the House, and the Speaker *Lenthall* going thither at his usual time in his coach, was stop'd, and after some expostulations, was forced to return. And thus their sitting was prevented. Both parties of the souldiers kept their stations most part of the day, and every minute it was expected they would have engaged, whilst the amazed inhabitants dreaded the issue: But *Lambert* having effected what he intended, procured an Order from

from the Council of State, then sitting at *Whitehall*, for all to draw off to their quarters, which was accordingly done, and so this periculouſ adventure, of a ſecond time unneſting theſe *Rumpers* was finiſhed.

Thus you ſee, ſome more bold touches of Arbitrarineſs, Uſurpation, and Tyranny in this ſecond, though ſhort, Reign of theſe *Rumpers*, who ſate only from the 7th of *May* to the 13th of *October*: in which time they diſcovered themſelves to be the ſame Coverous and Rapacious Tyrants they were before in all their Actions, and had they time, would have appeared to have been as bloody; for they were preparing to bring the late Delinquents, as they called thoſe engaged in *Sir George Booths* Riſing, to a Tryal, and they had got Liſts of moſt of the perſons, Nobility, and Gentry throughout *England*, that were engaged in it, whoſe Eſtates were to be conſiſcated and ſold, and out of whoſe Eſtates they promiſed to ſatiſſie the Soldiers, and to gratiſie themſelves, which was always the chief thing aimed at, but being thus interrupted as you have heard, they, in haſte, marched off the Stage.

And now again the Kingdom is withour any kind of Civil-Government, for the Uſurpation was divolved on a few Officers, who whiſt they Reigned, Ruled by the boundleſs Arbitrary Power of the Sword; which confuſed Authority, that laſted not long, we may call the fourth Act of this our Tragical Uſurpation upon the free-born *Engliſhmen*; Yet ſtill under the notion of *Liberty*.

The next day after the turning forth of the *Rumpers*, divers of the Chief Officers of the Army meet at *White-Hall*, where the Soldiers ſoon grow Friends, only Colonel *Morley* was turned out of Commiſſion for ſtanding ſo ſtiſſly againſt the *Wallingfordians*: and now for the management of the Government, and the Affairs of the Common-wealth, reduced to an *Anarchy*, they choſe ten perſons, till further Order, which were *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Desborow*, *Whitlock*, *Sir Henry Vain*, *Sir James Harrington*, *Major Salway*, *Berry*, *Sydenham* and *Archibald Johnſon* a *Scotchman*, known commonly by the Title of the *Laird*

Laird Warriston. The Officers now Lords Parramoure, meet the same day at *Wallingford-House*, where they give to themselves what they could not obtain from the *Juncto* by their Addresses, a General to their own mind, *Fleetwood*, whom they nominate Commander in Chief, and *Order Lambert* to be next, and *Desborow* Commissary General of the Horse, and that all the other Officers in the Army should be constituted by *Sir Henry Vain*, *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, *Ludlow*, and *Berry*, and took care for the drawing up Articles of War, for the good Government and Discipline of the Army. *Barrow* they dispatch into *Ireland*, with Reasons for what they had done, and *Cobbet* on the like Errand was sent to *Scotland*, where he was committed to Custody. For noble General *Monk*, whose Study to repara his Countries Breaches, was as great as *Lambert's* to oppress it, only waited for a fit opportunity, and judged this to be a most convenient time to bestir himself, in so honourable a Cause, and whom the Officers of the Army in *England* had neglected to put into their Council of State, believing he would, as he had hitherto, still submit to the Change of the Government; and by his stopping of the Packets they had not heard as yet, how he had forbid the getting of Subscriptions in his Army, as they had done in *England* and *Ireland*. Though his Design then was the bringing in the King, and the restoring the three oppressed and enslaved Nations, from the Arbitrary Rule, of Tyrannical Usurpers, of the Scum of the people; and also from the power of the Sword and Arbitrary Sway of the Army; yet he was very close in all his Carriage, and few were acquainted with the thoughts of his Heart: but taking this opportunity to oppose the strongest Power, the Army, he seems averse to their doings, and appears wholly concerned for the *Rump*, or *Parliament* so called; and therefore that their Emissary might not corrupt or do any hurt among his Soldiers, he secures him, and by Letters signifies his dislike of the Armes proceedings in *England*; tells them of their violation of Faith to the Parliament, and declared his Resolution of endeavouring to restore them to their

their Powers; this arrived to them on the 28th of *October* in the Evening, which put them to much Confusion. *Fleetwood, Desborow, and Lambert* meet about it, and about midnight send for *Clarges*, to expostulate with him about it, who was wary, and could say little to it; however they order him with one *Col. Talbot* to repare presently to *Monk*, that they might prevail with him for a Treaty, to prevent effusion of blood, of which *Clarges* was glad, being desirous to get out of their power fearing a worse treatment.

In the mean time, the Council of Officers meet at *Whitehall*, in order to Settlement as they called it, and of framing a Government, that should be lasting and against all attempts whatsoever: but having found most of the Gentry of *England*, to be one way or other involved for the King's Int'rest, they were projecting to seize all their Estates, and to divide them among their own Party, and so to put the riches of the nation into the hands of persons irreconcilable to Monarchy; and then to have set up *Harrington's* model of a *Common Wealth*, or ruled themselves by the sword, or thought of some other way, they knew not what: This advise if followed, had been very fatal, and might have laid such a foundation of slavery, never to have been subverted. But God had otherwise designed: on the 16 of the same month *October*, the *Wallingferdians* choose a Committee of Safety as they termed it, consisting of 23 persons, who were *Fleetwood, Lambert; Desborow, Whitlock*, lately made keeper of their great Seal, *Steel* Chancellor of *Ireland*; *Sir Hen. Vain, Ludlow, Sydenham, Salaway, Strickland, Berry, Lawrence*, *Sir Jo. Harrington*, the *Laird Warreston, Alderman Ireton, Fichbourn, Col. Hewson, Cleark, Bennet, Lilbarn, Thomson, Cornelius Holland*, and *Henry Brandriff*. These, without any President, in any Age or History, were impowred, by the armie Officers, to call Delinquents to account, and to bring them to Justice, to give Indemnity to all that had acted for the *Common Wealth*, since the year 1649. to oppose and

and suppress all Insurrections, to treat with foreign States and Princes. To raise the Militia in the several Counties, to dispose of all places of Trust, and to make Sales and Compositions of all Delinquents Lands, and to execute all the powers of the late Council of State; that is, to do what they please. Surely never any free Nation was so abused and imposed upon by a company of false pretenders to Sanctity?

The news of General *Monks* actions in the North, allarm'd them, at their first sitting, for he had cashiered all those Officers in his Armie; who would not joyn with him, and imprisoned some of them; and, had seized *Berwick*, and several others strong Holds, and was likely to march into *England*, which put them to their wits ends, knowing how highly the people were incensed against them; and about the same time, as a presage of their dying power, *Bradshaw* who had passed the trayterous Sentence upon the King, departed this life, the last day of this month, to receive sentence himself from the King of Kings. However this Committee with a new name, put forth a Declaration, in which they null and make voyd the pretended Orders, Acts, and Declarations of the late *Junto*, made on the 10th. of that instant *October*, and on the *Tuesday* and *Wednesday* following; and likewise all Acts, Orders, and Proceedings thereupon, in as full and ample manner, as if they had never been: See now what may not these people do, when they can null and make void the Acts of that power themselves adorned, set up and submitted to, not long before calling them Saints, Godly, Upright, and Religious men, persons fearing God, and seeking the good of the Nation, yet now vacate their Acts, that were displeasing to them, or restrained their power. Yet the same men declare a liberty to all the freeborn men of the Nation, whom they had thus enslaved, and with the next breath promise to maintain a painfull Gospel-preaching Ministry, to be encouraged by some other way, less troublesome than that of Tithes. Then they declare
against

against a single person, Kingship, and House of Peers, and that the Common Wealth shall not be governed in a Military way, but by the Civil Government of the Committee of Safety, who shall prepare such a Form of Government as shall best suit with a free State, or Common Wealth: then end with a long cant of godly and scriptural expressions, of their sincerity and uprightness, to *Cajole* the godly Party, and to make them think well of their Saintlike Actions.

This done, in order to Government, in the beginning of November, the *Safety men* nominate *Fleetwood, Lambert, Vane, Ludlow, Desborow, Hewson, Holland, Salaway,* and *Ticbburn* to be a Committee, to prepare a form of Governemnt, in the way of a free State, or Common Wealth; and *Whaly, Goff, Carill,* and *Barker*, are dispatched to General *Monk* to seduce him to joyn with them, and to do as they intended, to tyrannize over a free born people; and arbitrarily to inurder them for the avoiding of effusion of blood; and the Officers at *London* wrote to his Officers to the same purpose, remonstrating with much zeal, how necessary brotherly Union was to uphold their Domination. General *Monk*, who had good Intelligence from *England*, seeing the Northern forces were in a posture to resist him, and *Lambert* coming down to them with more Regiments out of the South, thought it his best way to win time by procrastinations, and therefore desires a Treaty, which was readily accepted of by those in *England*, and upon this he sends up, as Commissioners, *Col. Wilks, Leijr. Col. Cloberry,* and *Major Knight*, to transact with the like number of Officers at *London*. These had power only to treat, but not to come to full agreement without orders, but they exceeded their Commission. By the way meeting *Lambert* at *York*, they gave him so full satisfaction in hopes of concluding all things amicably, by this Treaty, that he advanced no farther northwards. The Commissioners on both sides meet at *London*, and *Wilks* not following his directions, went beyond his Commission, and being overforward to end the Treaty, concluded upon certain Articles very dis-

distructive to *Monks* designs. They were breisfly these.

1. That the pretended title of *Charles Stewart*, or any other clameing from that family should be utterly renounced.
2. That the Government of these Nations should be a free State or Common Wealth, and not be a single Person, King, of House of Lords.
3. That the Ministry should be maintained and encouraged.
4. That the Universities should be reformed and countenanced,
5. That the Officers and souldiers, and other persons, on either side, should be indemnified for things past, and all unkindness between them buried in perpetual oblivion.
6. That the Officers which were made prisoners in *Scotland*, should be forthwith set at liberty.
7. That the Armies be presently dispersed into quarters,
9. And a Committee of 19, whereof to make the *Quorum*, should meet about qualifications for succeeding Parliaments.
9. That the proportion of money out of the Assessments of *England*, formerly appointed for the supply of the forces in *Scotland*, be duly paid. The ratification of which Articles by *Monk's* Commissioners, strangely amazed the City, who had had private assurances from the General of other things, and made them not to believe some later letters sent them, to continue their Hopes, but flung them away at fictions, and caused the messenger to be imprisoned. *Monk* was also as much perplex'd when he had the news of it, and when his Commissioners returned imprisoned *Wilks*, for going beyond his Commission, and by advice from his Officers demurred to one clause in the 6 Article, which was, That all the Officers displaced by General *Monk*, might be in a capacity of being restored to their commands, and all those put in by him, in their places, to be removed; by which means he should ruine and disarm himself. And therefore The treaty was not wholly disaprov'd of, but wisely *Monk* desired, that two more might be added to the former Commissioners, to meet with the like number of theirs, to put a more absolute period to their differences; for that there were certain poynts to be treated on not yet agreed to, and others wanted

wanted explanation. This letter subscribed by *Monk*, and many of his Chief Officers, and sent to *London*, put *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, and the rest to much confusion; seeing *Monk* thus refuse to ratifie the Treaty: and thereupon many expostulatory Letters passed between them, which gained time, the thing *Monk* intended: he having sent letters and messengers into *Ireland*, from whom he had favourable returns, which encouraged him to proceed. And this also put new life into the City, who now began to revive their Hopes. He also had privately letters from the Lord *Fairfax*, and other persons of quality in *England*, of their resolutions of standing by him; tho' upon all this, he still kept himself reserv'd, and very few knew his intentions, which made many of his friends very doubtfull of him: but by this artifice and closeness he effected his business, and got into the opinion of the *Rumpers*, whose quarrel only he seemed to espouse: And being thus encouraged by his actions, nine of the old Council of State got privately together, viz: *Scot*, *Merley*, *Reignalds*, *Wollop*, *Nevill*, *Haxlerig*, *Walton*, *Cooper*, and *Berners*, who send a letter to *Monk*, assuring him, that his service was highly acknowledged by them, in asserting their Liberties, and also was extreemly well resented by all the sober and uninterested persons in the nation, that love a Common Wealth; assuring him they would adhere to him, and stand and fall with him, and that they would assist him with all their might, for the removing of the force was put upon them by the *English* Armie, that they might sit in freedom; praising his wisdom and conduct, and the like. This was no small encouragement to the Officers in *Scotland*, for they might rationally conclude, that their party was increased in *England*, or else that they would not have so openly acted. This before-mentioned Council of State, framed a Commission, wherem they constituted General *Monk* absolute Commander in Chief of the Armies in *England* and *Scotland*, dated 24 of *November* sealed with their seal, and given to *Clarges* to send by a safe messenger to *Monk*.

And

And now General Monk, upon Lamberts advance into Northumberland, ordered a considerable part of his forces towards Berwick: and then caused an Assembly of the Nobles and Gentry, to convene at *Edenburg* to whom he made these proposalls. That he having a call from God and man, to march into *England* they would therefore, during his absence, preserve and secure the peace of that Nation. That they would supply him with some money for his undertaking, which he engaged upon his honor should be to their satisfaction; and that if any troubles should arise, they would assist him in the suppressing thereof. That they would advance, and raise what money they could for his enterprise before hand. To these they returned answer by their chair-man, the Earl of *Glencarn*; that they were not in a condition to engage for preserving the peace of the Country in his absence; because they wanted Armes: Yet they would endeavour it with all faithfulness. That they thought it not prudent to engage themselves in a war, which if unsuccessful would be their ruin, or if prosperous they knew not what advantage should thereby accrew to them. But to shew their good opinion of his fair intendment, they were content to levy monies, and to advance a year's Tax before-hand. Hereupon the General impowred the Lords and Gentry to armie themselves; and some of them he privately satisfied with his design, and thankfully accepted the year's Tax. But yet to win time, he holds a second Treaty with Lambert's Commissioners at *Newcastle upon Tyne*; where he still insisted with a seeming zealousness, upon the readmission of the *Rumpers*: And this produced iris wished effects. For whilst Lambert trifles away his time unprofitably, Monk posts himself at *Cold-stream*, a notable pass upon the *Tweed*, where he kept his head Quarters, and being winter, where Lambert could not, without danger, come to disturb him. And on the other side *Hazlerig*, *Morly* and *Walton* get into *Portsmouth*, where they prevail with the Governour Col. *Nathaniel Whetnam*, and the Garison, with the Town, to declare for the

he *Junto*, against the *Safety men* and Armie Officers, and no Contribution could be gotten from the Country; who armed themselves with the late Act of the *Rumpers* before their exclusion by *Lambert*; and the Counties every where bodily meet to draw Remonstrances; but especially the City was so highly incensed, that the Lord Mayor, *Allen*, was hardly able to restrain them from flying to armes; which so perplexed him that not knowing whom to please, and fearing bad effects if he should displease either, he went to *Wallingsford House* to represent the postures of affairs to the *Gang*, to try if he could persuade them to reason: But he was affronted all along as he past in his coach, in the streets, by the Common people, who called him a deserter, and told him he was not like Sir *William Walworth* in the time of King *Richard the second*: which was a notable evidence of the inclination of the Generality.

In the mean time, that we may see and be astonished at the impudence of these men, or monsters, called the *Safety men*: they had ordered a Committee (whom we nominated before) as mad as themselves, to sit at *White-Hall*, to find out a new Government; whose wits being not so accurate as their swords were quickly confounded in the building of their *Babel*. Sometimes they would have a *Senate*, and another time they were for *Conservators*, which should be much like the *Rumping Custodes*, to keep the *Liberties* from the people: But at last to please the Nation, this Mounchain brought forth its Mouse; a Vote viz: That a (convention which they stiled a) Parliament qualified according to their humors, and elected by persons so qualified, should be called and appointed to sit in, or before *February* next. But in the first place 7 fundamental principles are agreed upon, by the *Wallingsfordians*, which must needs be as unalterable as the Laws of the *Medes and Persians*. These are, 1. That no Kingship shall be exercised in these Nations. 2. That no single Person shall exercise the Office of Chief Magistrate here. 3. That an Armie be continued, maintained, and conducted, so as it may secure (that is: imprison)

son) the peace of these Nations, and by no means be disbanded, nor the conduct thereof altered, but by the consent of such *Conservators* as should be appoynted. 4, That no imposition may be upon the consciences of any but the *Cavaliers*, 5, That there be no House of Peers. 6, That the legislative and execurive power be distinct, and not in the same hands. 7, That the Assemblies of Parliament shall be elected by the people of this Common Wealth duly qualified.

But these Gimcraks would not satisfie at all. But the Treaty still being in hand, they were lulled into a security, and began, after the old manner of the *Rumpers*, to share among themselves the Cheifest Offices and places of Trust and proffit; and to his end *Fleetwood*, *Desborow*, *Sydenham*, *Saloway*, *Holland*, *Clerk*, and *Blakwell*, or any two of them are appointed Commissioners of the Treasurie, and to manage the publique revenue, with power as large as they could wish or desire. But being disturbed with the peoples drawing up of severall Petitions, and getting Subscriptions, issue forth a Proclamation against all such petitioning, and call their petitions undue and dangerous papers, and prohibit all persons to subscribe any such papers, and if offered to suppress them, and to cause all persons so endeavouring to get subscriptions to be apprehended, upon account of being enemies and disturbers of the peace. Thus you see, these very men, who had set examples of this nature so frequently by gering Subscriptions to Petitions and Remonstrances, to the Authority then in Being, could not endure it, now it thwarted their humors and interest; and what in themselves they indulg'd and pleaded for, as their right, they will abhor and will punish in others. Mind therefore the Justice of these men.

But this Prohibition of theirs did but the more enrage the people, and the *Londoners*, especially the Apprentices, were in an uproar, and ready to mutine; whereupon *Hewson* the one ey'd cobbler, hath order with his Regiment of foot, and some horse to march into the City: where he killed a Cobbler, and one or two more, and wounded several,

veral, so that the Citizens shut up their shops; yet rather maddened than daunted thereat, there were continually bickerings between them and the souldiers; neither could *Desborows*, canting speech at *Guild-Hall* work upon them, but that sometimes multitudes would flock together and affront the souldiers, and tho' they were often dispersed yet they would gather head again. And now the Common-Council, in which at that time were many stout and honest men, began to give ear to the Apprentices petitioning for a free Parliament; being thereunto encouraged by an offer of 3000 valiant Seamen to aid them, from Vice Admiral *Lawson*; who in this juncture was come up the *Thames*, and had surprized all the Forts and Blockhouses in the way: *Vaine* and *Salmon* were sent to confer with him, but nothing would prevail with him, unless the *Wallingfordians* would readmit the *Rumpers* to sit again.

And besides all this, *Hazelrig*, *Morley*, and *Walton*, at *Portsmouth*, had so wrought upon those Regiments which were sent against them, that they all came over to their side. The *Safety men* and Officers at *White-Hall* perceiving themselves to be generally hated and slighted, and wanting money to pay their souldiers and uphold their interest, being withall beset on every hand with enemies; both City and Country being ready to rise upon them, found a necessity of submitting to the *Rumpers*, for fear, lest while the two *Currs* strove for the bone of Government, the Royal *Lyon* should come in and destroy them both; they finding the pulse of the whole nation (tyred with the various fits of arbitrary sway) beating towards the return of the King, and to their old and equal way of Government; and the late reconciliation between *France* and *Spain* (in which his Majesty was very instrumental) seeming to presage some danger to them; the Chief of them then go to the Speaker *Lenthall*, and cry *peccavimus*; where tender-hearted *Fleetwood* meekly weeping, gave a full testimony of his sorrow for his reiterated defection, saying: *That the Lord had blasted their Councils and spit in their Faces* ('tis his own rhetoric) and therefore

therefore desires, him and the rest of the members, to return to the exercise of their Trust, for the Government of the Nation. And the same day the souldiery being drawn up in *Lincolns-Inn-seilds* owned the *Junto* again for the supream authority, now they saw thy could keep it no longer themselves. The Speaker went presently to the *Tower of London*, the care of which & Government whereof, he committed to Sir *Antony Asby-Cooper*, Mr. *Weaver*, and Mr. *Berners*, and two dayes after, being the 26 th. of *December*, this never dying *Bump* returned their old places; and thus ended the Government of the *Armie*, which lasted only from the 13 th. of *October* to the 26 th. of *December* following.

And now, almost tyred with relateing, tho breifly, the severall sorts of *Arbitrary* and tyrannical usurpations, we are come to the last Act of our *Tragedy* or *Trage-comedy* since it ends happily, and after the tryall of so many ways of Government, almost to the ruin of the Nation, they return to the good old way of *Monarchy*; as the onely just, equal, and legal way of Government for these Nations, and for the ease and free- dom of the people. But let us pursue our story, and see the last struggle & gasp for life of this *Monster*, or *Dragon*, of a *Common Wealth* ruling by their *Arbitrary* wills, back'd by the power of the sword, of a standing *Armie*, who like the *Turks Janizarie* Keep both the people and their Masters in awe; tho' they knew the one, was not able to stand without the other.

Soon after this revived *Junto*, to their great joy, had met, *Hazelrig*, *Morley*, and *Walton*, came to their Companions, being attended from *Portsmouth* by those forces, that were led by *Desborow* to reduce them; who being then deserted by them, hasted back to *London*, and from thence to *St. Albans*; whence he wrote an humble letter to his restored Masters, craveing pardon, and telling them, that he had procured his own Regiment, which was at that time quarter'd there, to return to their Obedience. From *S. Albans*, *Desborow* went into *Yorkshire* to *Lambert*, who was now in a declining condition.

General *Monk* finding things goe to his mind in *England*

now broke of the treaty he had yet continued at *Tork*, and had planed his armie very advantageously along the River *Tweed*, on the *Scotch* side, in such a prudent manner, that in a few hours he could have all his Forces together; and lay so well posted, that the enemy could not make their way to him without extraordinary disadvantage: and if *Lambert* should have attempted to have got to him by the way of *Carlisle*, he would by that means have gained several days march before him towards *London*; being also well assured, the Country would come in a pace to him. *Lambert* was about 13000 strong, and far superior to General *Monk* (in numbers) especially in Horse; which made that famous and experienced commander decline engaging.

The *Rumpers*, as soon as got together, order *Popham*, *Thomson*, *Scot*, *Okey*, *Ashly-Cooper*, *Alured*, and *Markham*, or any 3 of them to be Commissioners to Order, Direct, and Conduct the forces of the armie; these write to *Lambert* to disperse his forces, but they were doing that themselves before, and the *Irish* Brigade that came over to his assistance under *Redman* and *Bret* submitted to the *Junto*; a pardon being sent to *Lambert*, and for all others that should submit to them by the 9th. of the same month: by the example of the *Irish* Regiments, divers other Regiments also forsook *Lambert*, who headed by the Lords *Fairfax* and *Faulconbridg* lately came to them, seized *Tork*, for the *Junto*. *Lambert* upon this marches from the borders Southward, his souldiers forsakeing him so fast, that by such time as he came to *North-Allerton*, he had not above 50 Horse remaining, where upon both he and they concluded to lay hold on the offer of pardon, and so dispersed, which being done, those at *Tork* likewise departed to their respective Quarters. *Windsor* castle also was surrendred to them by the means of Col. *Ingoldsoy*: all things thus prospering, they fall upon the Oath of Abjuration or Renunciation of the whole line of King *James*, which they had been hammering at before, but now nominateing a Council of State, they order that none of them should

Act, till they had taken this oath, which was now formed more strict than ever; and it was also proposed, that all the members of the House should take it: but this was strongly opposed by many, for that secretly divers of them had sought their pardons of the King, and seeing that he would inevitably come in the wisest & least obnoxious of them, endeavoured to save themselves, and to be instrumental in his Majesties Restauration, among whom were Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, St John, Ingham, Morley, and others: But the Oath was this: *I doe hereby swear, That I doe renounce the pretended title of Charles Stewart, and the whole line of King James, and of every other person, as a single person, pretending or which shall pretend to the Crown or Government of these nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland or any of them, and the dominions and territories belonging to them or any of them. And that I will by the grace and assistance of almighty God, be true, faithfull, and constant to the Parliament and Common Wealch, and will oppose the bringing in or setting up any single person, or House of Lords and every of them in this Common Wealch.*

A third part at least of their Council of State refused this Oath, saying it was a snare and a confining of Providence, and so were not permitted to sit.

The secluded Members, would not yet give over their Right of sitting, and tho they knew and had declared, that the Parliament was legally dissolved by the Death of the late King, yet they, upon the resitting of the Rumpers, require admission, whereupon it was again resolved that they did stand duely discharged from their sitting as members of that Parliament, and that writs should be immediately issued out, for the electing of new members in their places. Thus they are still providing to perpetuate themselves. And then falling to their old trade of dividing the spoyle, and to let them see how much they were offended, they order the Estates of Sr Georg Booth (a secluded member) and all his adherents to be forthwith sought.

General Monk who kept a correspondence in Ireland, received the news that his friends had surprized Dublin,

Castle, and that most of all *Ireland* had declared for him, and the *Parliament* to sit again, but he was surprized at the actual sitting again of the *Rump*, having other designs in his head, than their restoration, and therefore thinks it now high time to march, tho' in the midst of winter, and great snow: yet on the 2 of *January* he begins to set forward, resolving for *London*. In the mean time the *Junto* knowing that both City and Country were highly exasperated, who would not be satisfied with any thing, but the restoring the old members, or a free *Parliament*, and having also had experience of the *Armies* stubbornness, and aptness to mutiny, therefore to provide for their own Safety, which was very dear to them, they make *Morley* Lieutenant of the *Tower*, and ordered a letter of thanks to be sent to General *Monk*: which was accordingly done, and which the General received being upon this march, and caused it to be read to his souldiers at the head of their Regiments, whilst they stood up to the knees in snow. This letter was but cold comfort, and they feared lest it should have hind'ed their march; for the souldiers long'd to be at *London*, and the Messenger told *Monk*, that *Lambert's* forces were dispers'd, and all things quiet, yet the General would not understand him, but continued his march Southwards, for he said he would see them settled, and take care no more force should be put upon them: and by a messenger of his own, sent them a letter, much to the same purpose, with a return of thanks for the honour they did him, and of professions of fidelity to them; and that they being in an unferled condition, he thought it best to see them settled, &c. with several other things, which he recommended to them, both as to the soulderie, and the people. The General had left Major General *Morgan* behind in *Scotland*, with sufficient force to keep that nation in quiet, who were now in great expectation of the issue of *Monk's* march into *England*. All the way as he march'd he was highly caressed by the Gentry, and addressed by the Counties for a free *Parliament*, to whom he was

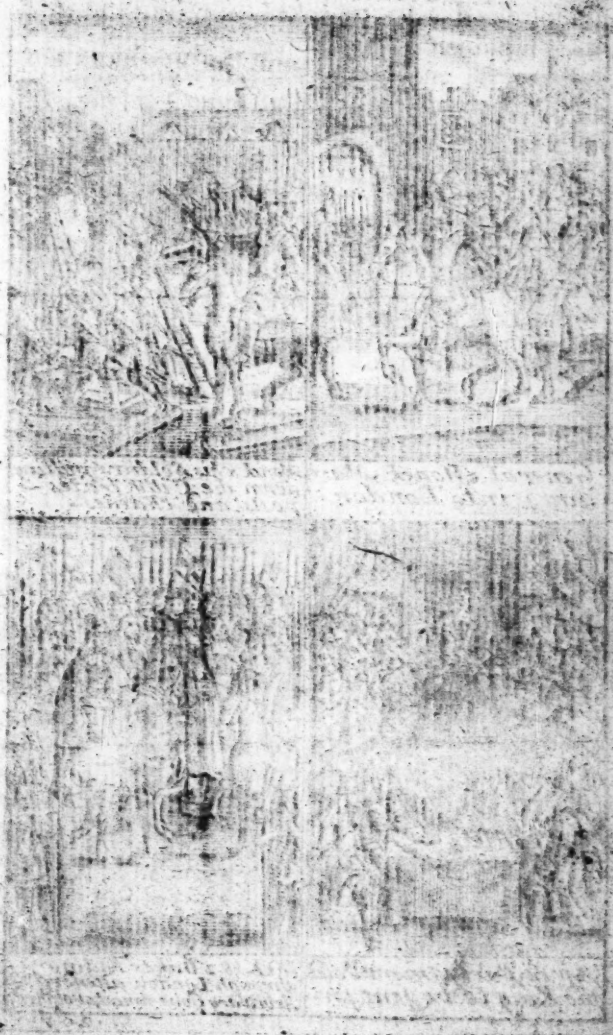
very reserv'd tho' civil, so that many scruples and doubts arose concerning him some suspecting him a Royalist, others a Rumpier, and others believing he intended to set up himself in *Olivers* place. The City likewise sent their Swordbearer to complement him, and to offer him their service, and then by 3 Commissioners requesting the same thing, the readmission of the secluded members, without any previous Oath, or a free *Parliament*, either of which they knew would bring in the King, tho' they durst not yet speak out. *Monk* observ'd all, and tho' inwardly glad, he knew one error might spoyle all, therefore he still kept his mind to himself, and answer'd them, that he would see the *Parliament* freed from all force, and the House filled, and good provision made for future *Parliaments*. But the *Rumpers*, who had also received the like declarations from the Country, doubting what those caresses might produce, sent two of their subtlest members, *Scot* and *Luke Robinson*, in shew to wait upon *Monk*, but in effect to watch and observe him, and to give them an account of all his actions, for their Jealousie of him daily increased. The General came to *St. Albans* upon the 28th. of *January*, and there made an haulk, sending from thence a letter to the *Junto*, which he had framed before-hand as *Nottingham*, in which he desired to have his quarters assigned him, according to the list he had sent, ready drawn in his letter, and that those forces that were now there, might draw forth and march to severall Quarters, far enough a sunder, as he had also by his list inclosed appoynted or desired. telling them he did it upon mature consideration, of the present posture of their affairs, that those places he had assigned to them, who were to march out, might be secured for them, he having intelligence of their distemper'd condition, and that he presumed with submission, that it would not be for their service, that those souldiers then in *London* lately in Rebellion against them, should mingle with those of his approved faithfull Regiments, till they should, by their new Officers put over them, be reduced to a more affi-

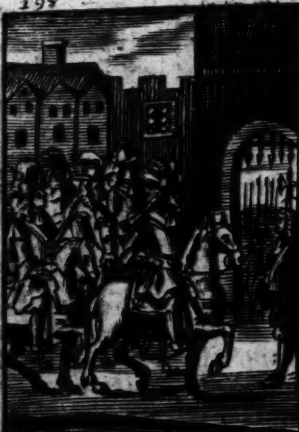
red obedience to them. Colonel *Merley's* and Colonel *Fagg's* Regiments were excepted, he having an assurance of them. This letter was sent by Colonel *Lydeot*, who was allyed to the Speaker. This letter caused a violent dispute, which lasted from 8 in the morning, till 12 at noon, the result of which was; That the Parliament did agree with the distributions of the souldiers according to the Lists, and that the Souldiers be forth with distributed accordingly. The General was not a little glad to hear of this, for by this he did his business, and it was of great consequence as to his design, in thus getting the sole possession of *London* and *Westminster* into his power. *Fleetwoods* armie marched out of *London*, having a months pay assigned them, but this did not satisfie, nor keep them from grumbling, and some of them mutined at *Somerse-house*, but at last were faine to follow their fellows. The *Junto* would have given the General a 1000. pounds a year out of *Sir George Booths* estate, but he refused it; and then they grant him *St James's park* dureing their pleasure.

Upon the 3d of *February*, having sent his Lady and family before him, he marched into *London*, with his Armie, entring by the way of *Grays Inn-lane* and so thorow *Chancery lane* and *Temple bar*, into the *Strand*, where, about *Somerse House* he was met by the Speaker, where they complemented one another, and because he would not fall more under the suspicion of his Jealous Masters, he is content to accept of the Lodgings they had appoynted for him at *White-Hall*. Goeing to the Parliament House on *Monday* the 6 of *February* he received the thanks of the *Junto*, and afterwards made a speech to them, standing at the back of a velvet chair they had placed for him within the Bar, in which he thank'd them for the Honour they had done him, and among other things, after he had give them an account of Affairs, he humbly desired them to satisfie the expectation of the Nation, in the establishment of their Laws, Liberties, and Properties, to remove the Conceit, which the people had of their intending to perpetuate themselves, by their determining their own Session, and for providing for future Parlia-

ments, and the fewer qualifications the better; intreating them to use the Nobility and Gentry civilly, and telling them that the *Phanaticks* were as dangerous as *Cavaliers*. This speech of his was no good Musick in their ears, and some of the hasty rash ones among them, had much ado to forbear interrupting him, however, tho' galled, they dissembled a while, for that the City still continued refractory, and had passed a Vote in Common Council Feb. 8. *Not to pay or levie any Taxes till they had a full and free Parliament*. Upon which the *Junto* thinking this to be highly derogatorie to their Authoritie, the Council of State order the General, the next morning to go into the City with a part of the Armie, and to seize on 11. of the most active of them, and to pull down their Posts and Chains, to unhinge their Gates, and take away their porculiffis. The Generaewas surprized at this order, knowing it would render him odious to the Citizens, and suspected that they designed by this means, to make an utter breach between the City and Him, that they might tye him the surer to their own party. He was one of the Council of State, but did not sit among them, because he denied to take the Oath, yet he went to them, & debated the business with them, til mid-night, divert but he found nothing he could say would their resolutions. They also ordered him to quarter his souldiers upon them, till he had brought them to obedience. He saw he was now forced to obey, or quit his Command; and to do the latter at this time, would spoyle all he had labour'd for; and openly to make an interruption had then been equally dangerous, being not yet fully assured of his souldiers: wisely therefore he resolves to obey these orders, and by this means to try the spirits of the souldiers, and of the Citizens, and also to quash the suspicions of his Masters. His Commission being now expiring. The next day therefore he marches to *Guil-Hall*, and peremptorily demands the Assessment. They plead *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right* and the Act of the *Junto* made the day before *Lambert* turn'd them out, that they were not to pay Taxes without their Consent in Parliament.

Parliament, which they had no^t, for they had no Burgeſſes in the Houſe. Upon this refusal, the General ſeiſed 9 of the 11 they had appointed him, and to the amaſement of the Citizers, who had thought him their friend, and to the ſouldiers; who obeyed his orders very unwillingly. He pull'd down their Poſts and Chains; and applications being made to him by ſome of the moſt ſober of the Citizens, he could not but reſtiſie how ungratefull the Action was to him, but that he was under Maſters, whom he was bound to obey, but promiſed he would write to them the next day about it, as he did, giving the *Junto* an Account, how he had obeyed their orders, as to ſeiſing the perſons they had commanded him to ſeiſe, and had pulled down their Poſts and Chains, but had not as yet medled with their Gates, becauſe the Common Council were appoynted to meet that morning, and he doubred not, but that all things would be compoſed to their ſariſfaction, and the Aſſeſſment paid. But the *Junto*, upon the reading his Letter, grew higher and more violent than before, and without other answer, ſent him a peremptory order, not only to unhinge their gates, and take away the portcullies, but to break them all to pieces: and likewise order'd, That the preſent Common Council of the City, ſhould be diſſolved, and declared them nul and voyd, ordering him not to let them meet. Vext at his noble Heart the General was, to ſee himſelf, made the *Junto's* Executioner; but leaſt they ſhould at thiſtime vacate his Commiſſion, which he thought they ſought at preſent for; he fully executed their Orders, to the great Grief of the City, and for a time to the utter loſs of their Affection, and he perceived alſo the temper of his own ſouldiers, who many of them utterly reſuſed; tho' they told him they would dye for him in Battell: but this was a work unworthy of ſouldiers, to a City that was their friend. He as ſecrerly rejoiced, to find how well they agreed, tho' he made ſhew to the contrary; but this was the laſt ſervice he ever intended to do this *Junto*: for on the 10th of February, his Commiſſion was at an end, and he expected they would have renew'd





General Monck Marching into London.



Monck & his Soldiers pulling down the City Gates posts and chains.



A free Parlyament Voted the King to be sent for



The K. & 2 Dukes Riding through London attended by Arbitrary Government abolished.

renew'd it, and returned to *Whitehall*. But in re-utal of this service, his ungratefull and, ungracious Masters fearing too much greatness in any one Man, instead of renewing his Commission, they had made him a Colonel again, and joyned 4 others with him, equal in Command. This was an hand some occasion for *Monk* now to begin to unhood himself, and being wisely managed, might be a good means of inducing his Officers to joyn with him in his business. He represents the matter to them, and they unanimously conclude, that the *Junto* did intend at length to supplant them all, and impose upon them, and the whole Nation. The same day the City Gates were beat down, *Praise God Bearebanne*, with a rabble of *Phanaticks*, present the *Junto*, with a Petition, that none might be imployed in Civil or Military Offices, untill they had taken the Oath of Renunciation, and had the Thanks of the House.

The name of those joyned in the Commission with General *Monk* were, *Hazelrig*, *Merley*, *Walton*, and *Alarred*, 3 of which were to be a *Quorum*, and when it was moved by *Monk's* friends, that he might be always of the *Quorum* it was carried in the Negative, which so exasperated the General, that having tryed his Officers, he secretly ordered all the Armie to be drawn up, and having prepared a Letter, signed by himself and the Chief Officers of his Armie, in which they Complain of the *Junto's* Countenanceing *Lambert* and *Vain*, and permitted *Ludlow* to sit with them, tho accused by Sir *C. Coote* of high Treason they conclude that by *Friday* next, they should issue out writs for the filling up the House, & when filled, should rise at their appoynted time to give way to a free *Parliament*.

The Letter they sent to the *Junto* firing, and immediately march into *London*, to shake hands with the City: on the 11 of *February* the Armie is drawn up into *Finsbury* fields and the General being invired to dinner, by the Lord Major, who at first was very shie, nor knowing how to believe what some of *Monk's* friends had told him of the General's Letter to the *Junto*, and of his resolving to declare for a free *Parliament*, but before they parted, the

General himself gave him, and the rest of the Citizens, such satisfaction of his Integrity, that, overjoy'd, they caused the souldiers to be feasted, and Quarters in the City to be provided for them, the Bells in all the Churches to ring, and at night Bonfires to be made in every street, declaring for a free *Parliament*.

In the mean time the *Junto* read the Generals and his Officers Letter, which caused a very great disorder in the House: however they thought it best to dissemble, and secretly resolve to ruine Him, if they can, tho' openly they Vote him the thanks of the House, and send away *Scot* and *Robinson* to give it him, and to let him know they were about qualifications for members to be Chosen, for the filling up their House. But when they heard of what was done in the City, the *Rumpers* gnashed at it, and angry they were, that they could not take revenge on the subscribers of the late Remonstrances for a free *Parliament*, whose Estates they earnestly longed to be dealing with. And now in the nick of Time comes a Declaration from *Ireland*, where they had secured *Sir Hardress Waller* a *Rumper*, which was of the same nature with those of the *English* Counties; but more bold and resolute, speaking their Minds freely, the Lord *Broughill* being one of the Chief promoters of it. His Excellency having waited some days for an answer to his Letter, and receiving none, but what *Scot* and *Robinson* brought him, who durst not stay in the City, for fear of being stoned; and finding nothing done in reference to the filling the House, he set himself about considering some way to dissolve the *Junto*, without force or violence. In this juncture, many of the secluded Members were in and about the City; Some of whom addressed themselves to the General, who procured a Conference between ten of them, and ten of the *Junto*; where, the one party challenged admission as Members of the House, unjustly forced from it before; the others refused it, unless they would confirm all that was done since by them, or at least ingage as they had done against a single person, and House of Lords; but when they could not agree about these poynts; *Monk* who was present both

times , (for they had two meerings) clearly discerning more of self-interested wilfulness than any Reason in what the *Rumpers* urged, a day or two after sent for the Secluded, and demanded if they were of the same mind, and resolved not to engage against a single person , to which they answering affirmatively, and professing to be immoveable therein, he got above fourscore of them together to *Whitehall*, where recommending the care of Religion , and the State to them, and telling them how sureable Physick a full and free *Parliament* would be for the crazed body of this Nation, he told them the House was open to them, and prayed for their good success, and so on the 21th of *February* they went and took their places in the House; which was managed so secretly, that the *Junto* knew nothing of their coming, till they appeared; which so surprised them, that they could not tell whether they had best sit still , or leave their places. The moderate among them stayed, but the grand sticklers for a *Common Wealth*, knowing now they should be out-Voted; and that they should be able to do no good , or rather further mischief, quitted the House.

Whilst these things were transacting , the *Junto* had endeavoured all ways possibly, to have gotten *Munk* out of the City, that they might have had him in their power; inviteing him to sit in the Council of State, and had sent Colonel *Alured* to persuade him; but he was too wise to trust them, for he had secret intelligence of their intentions of sending him to the Tower, or of serving him worse ; for they foresaw their own ruine: he excused himself by his care of securing the City by his presence, who were full of disturbance and ready to mutinee. But now the secluded Members, having gotten in, eleven years after they had been kept out , being double the number of the former sitters , out-Voted them still , so as there was no interruption. They had long been standers by , and had seen more than the Gamesters , and now they mean to improve their animadversions and experience to the doing of a great deal in a little time. They fall to work presently , where they were abruptly

ruptly forced to break off *December 1648*, confirming their Vote made then by another now. That the *Concessions of his Late Majesty*, were a sufficient Ground to proceed on, for settling the peace of the Kingdom. Hereby Vacating all that had been done contrary thereunto, during their Recels. *Brave Monk* is by them constituted *Captain General* of all the forces in *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and He with *General Mountague*, made *Admirals at Sea*. *Sir William Waller* is made *Lieutenant General* of the land forces: *Colonel Edward Ros- siter* General of the Horse, and *Vice Admiral Lawson* Continued in his Command. Several Gentlemen committed by the *Rumpers* order were then released, and among others *Sir George Booth*, who took his place in the House, and the City Gates, Portcullisses, Posts, and Chains; were ordered to be repaired at the publique charge. Then they provided to secure the Nation by two reasonable Acts, the one for an Assessment, the other for the Militia, and past some Acts concerning Ministers. Lastly they consult about dissolving themselves, to which the *Rump* party, were very unwilling, and therefore many of them intended to be absent, when that business should be debated, because they would not give their consent: But the others smelling their design, watched a convenient time, and issuing out writs in the name of the *Keepers of the Liberties, &c.* for a full and free Parliament, to convene on the 25th. of *April* following, saving to the House of Lords their Rights, notwithstanding the Commons in this Juncture had been necessitated to proceed without them: They upon *Friday* the 16th. of *March 1659*, when the greatest number of the *Rumpers* were present, dissolve themselves by Act. Thus was an undeniable Period put to this Tragical long Parliament, by their own Vote, tho' it was legally *ipso facto* dissolved before, by the Death of King *Charles* the 1st. whose writs had summoned them together.

But before they dissolved themselves, they settled a new Council of State, to govern in the intervall of the
the

the Parliaments, and abrogated the Oath of Abjuration, and the former Council. The chief of these were General , George Monk, General Mountague, Mr. Annesly, President, the Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, Mr. Hollis, Pierpoint, Rositer, Saint-Johns Widdrington, Sir Anthony Ashly-Cooper, and others, to the number of thirty in all, who behaved themselves with much circumpection, setting forth a Proclamation against all disturbers of the Peace either in Action or Speech, and tending an Engagement for peaceable demeanor, to be subscribed by such as they suspected, which Lambert refusing was committed to the Tower, disarming the Phanticks every where, they purged the Army of Schismatical Officers and Soldiers, taking care of the Garisons. Overton, a Fifth-Monarchy-Man, was removed out of his Government of Hull, and Collonel Charles Fairfax was placed in his Room. Collonel Rich made some stir about St. Edmunds-bury; but Collonel Rich. Ingoldsby quiered his Soldiers, and teised him, and thereupon was restored to that Regiment, from whose Command the Wallingfordians had put him by, when they degraded young Cromwell.

Thus ended the Arbitrary and Tyranical Usurpation of the Rumpers, by the great providence of God, and the good Genius of Englands means, in raising up the Great and Renowned Monk to be a Saviour to his Nation, and to reduce the Monarchy, to its legal, antient, and happy state again, and that the torrent of violence and Arbitrary Tyrany, that had so variously over-run and spoiled the Land, might be lost and sunk into the Earth, whence it sprung, and the Stream of Government, bounded by Laws and ancient Customs, might again run in its right Course and ancient Channel, from whence it had been diverted. And now I should conclude, having fully finished my Draught, or Picture of Arbitrary and Tyranical Government, which I have taken from the Life, being the true History and Resemblance of the Monster, now so much feared and which no Man that is a lover of the Peace of this Nation, and that hath his Sence and Reason, can behold without Horror and Indignation, and resolve in himself

suffer much, rather than to run the hazard of raising up this Ghost, to the ruine of three Kingdoms and the Lives and Estates of so many persons as must be devoured for daily food, to maintain the Life of such a Monster; the remembrance of which, moved by the sight of this very Picture of it, is enough to affright, I shall therefore only, as the last touches to this piece, shew you as it were the last struggle or gasp for Life, of the overthrown Monster, and so finish my Design, and that in few words.

Lambert, whether by neglect, or Treachery of his Keepers is not known, escapes out of the Tower, and soon after appears in Arms, with a party of his Cashired Officers and Soldiers, once more to embroil the Nation, but he was proclaimed Traitor, and the whole Nation beginning to hope for a settled Peace, were unanimously bent to aid the General (if need were) against him: He had chosen *Edg-Hill* near *Keinton* in *Warwick-shire* for the place of his Rendezvous, hoping it would prove as Ominous to the Royal Interest, as it had done before; and in all probability, there would have been a great Confluence of all sorts of Sectaries to him in a short space, and he was not without hope, that if the old Soldiers were sent against him, many of them would turn to him, but he was eagerly pursued by some parties of Horse and Foot, and Collonel *Charles Howard* had almost overtaken him; but it was Collonel *Ingoldsby's*, good hap to light upon him near *Daventry* in *Northampton-shire*, where *Lambert* was surprized with a strange Consternation, and durst not engage tho he was nothing inferior in numbers to the others, which his followers observing, some of them went over to his pursuers, others flunk away and himself taken by Collonel *Ingoldsby* the 22d. of *April* 1660. and with Collonel *Cobbet*, Major *Creod*, and Captain *Harerig*, son to Sir *Arthur*, was sent up to *London*, and two days after, passing by *Hide-Park*, he saw 20000 Horse and Foot of the City Regiments, and Auxiliaries, there Training, with divers of the Nobility and Gentry of the Nation, trailing Pikes voluntarily among them, and the same day he was committed to the Tower. This

This ended, towards the settling of the Peace of the Nation. His Excellency had wrought his Officers to declare, they would with him acquiesce in the Resolves of the Parliament, appointed to meet the 25th of April, 1660. who accordingly met, the Lords and Peers in the upper-house taking their places, by virtue of their Birth-right, who soon, according to the whole Nations expectations and Prayers, restored his Majesty to his Right, his Crown and Dignity; the Nobility to their ancient Birthrights and Priviledges, the People to their property, freedom, and liberties, and the Laws to their ancient course and boundaries; the three Kingdoms rejoicing and a long Peace, quietness and tranquillity succeeding; which yet is grateful to the memory of all Loyal and good Subjects: therefore however of late our old Jealousies and fears are increased by our secret Adversaries, yet let all people remember what hath past, and by viewing this Picture of the most horrid and devouring Dragon, called *Arbitrary and Tyrannical Usurpation*; let them abhor it, and beware of falling under the same power, and into the same snare by any specious or colourable Pretence whatsoever; and continually pray that the Peace of the Nation may be continued, with the Life of his most Gracious Majesty, whom the King of Kings preserve both in the Throne and in the Hearts of his people. *Amen.*

Upon the late STORME, and of the
DEATH of his HIGNNESS
ensuing the same, by
Mr. Waller.

WE must resign; Heaven his great Soul do's claime
In stormes as loud, as His *Immortall Fame*;
His dying *groanes*, his last *Breath* shakes our Isle,
And trees uncut fall for His *Funerall Pile*,
About his Palace their broad roots are tost
Into the air; So *Romulus* was lost:
New Rome in such a Tempest mis't her King,
And from *Obeying* fell to *Worshipping*.

On *Oeta's* top thus *Hercules* lay dead
With ruin'd Okes, and Pines about him spread;
Those his last fury from the *Mountain* rent,
Our dying *Hero* from the *Continent*
Ravish'd whole Towns; and *Forts* from *Spaniards* rest
As his last Legacy, to *Brittain* left:
The *Ocean* which so long our hopes confin'd
Could give no limits to His *vaster mind*;
Our Bounds *inlargement* was his latest toyle;
Nor hath he left us *Prisoners* to our Isle;
Under the *Tropick* is our language spoke,
And part of *Flanders* hath receiv'd our yoke.

From Civil Broyles he did us disingage,
Found nobler objects for our Marrial rage,
And with wise *Conduct* to his Country show'd
Their ancient way of conquering abroad:

Ungratefull then, if we no Tears allow
To Him that gave us Peace, and Empire too.
Princes that fear'd him, grieve, concern'd, to see
No pitch of glory from the Grave is free.
Nature her self took notice of His death,
And sighing swel'd the Sea, with such a breath
That to remotest shores her Billowes rol'd,
Th approaching Fare of their great Ruler told.

Upon the late STORME, translated
out of Mr. Waller's fine Piece of
FLATTERY.

Then take him *Devil*, Hell his Soul doth claime
In Stormes as Loud, as his *King-murthring* Fame.
His cheating Groans, and Teares, has shak'd this Isle,
Cleft Brittain's Oakes, for Brittain's funerall Pile.
Now at his Exit, Trees uncut are rost
Into the Ayr; So *Faustus* once was lost.
Rome mist her first, so *London* her last King,
Both kill'd, then wept, and fell to worshipping.
We in a Storme of wind our *Nimrod* lost,
King'd him, then Sainted him, then curs'd his Ghost.
In *Oeta's* flames thus *Hercules* lay dead,
In *Worcesters* flames, he on his raving Bed.
He some scragg'd Oakes, and Pines, from Mountains rent,
This stole two brave Isles from the Continent.
Ravish'd whole Towns, and that his *Spanish* Theft
As a curs'd Legacy to Brittain left.
The Seas with which our hopes God had confin'd,
The Devil made too narrow for his mind.
Our Bounds enlargement was his greatest royle,
He made our Prison greater than our Isle.
Under the Line our enslav'd crys are spoke,
And we and *Dunkirk* draw but in one Yoke.
From broyles he made, he best could dis-engage,
From his own head diverts our purchas'd rage:
And by fine State-art to his Country shew'd
How to be Slaves at home, and Theeves abroad.

Confederate Usurpers quake to see
The Grave not under th' power of Tyranny.
Nature shrunk up at this great Monster's death,
And swell'd the Seas with much affrighted breath.
Then to the Bounder'd Shore her Billowes roll'd
Th' approaching fate of *Europes* troubles told.

E N G L A N D *Still freshly lamenting
the Loss of her KING, with several
of her Dearest CHILDREN; which
have been beheaded, hanged, and shot,
by O. CROMWEL, and the Long-
Parliament. In a Brief Collection of the
remarkable Passages that have happened
to this Land, from the year 1640, to
the year 1660.*

IN sixteen hundred thirty nine, we then
Did think, and say we were unhappy men,
Because that we in many years before
Had not a Parliament; nay I'll say more,
We then did murmur, and we did complain
Of many preffures, we did them sustain:
Ship-mony then a burden was unto us,
O Lord, these taxes, we cry'd, will unto us;
This coat and conduct mony, is unlawfull,
Lord, sent a Parliament, to make us joyfull:
Shall we be made such slaves unto the will
Of such a King, that seeks our lives to kill,
And our estates will take away by force,
Yea, our Religion, which of all is worse,
A Parliament Lord send us, was the song,
Of rich and poor, the old, and eke the young.
Well, God did hear us, and into the heart
Of our late King, did put it, (to his smart)
To call a Parliament, as I remember
For to begin the third day of November; (1640.)
Which is now nineteen years ago compleat,
And doth sit still; with grief we may repeat.

Then

Then presently the Taxes down were voted,
 Which were so great, as I before have noted:
 Star-chamber then, and high Commission Court
 Were then put down, tis true what I report.
 Then did the King grant unto them to sit,
 In Parliament, so long as they thought fit:
 And then, for a Triennial Parliament
 An Act was made, mistakes for to prevent.
 Then joyfull were we, this same news to hear,
 Rung Bells, made Bonfires, as it did appear;
 But now behold, consider, and look back,
 And see how we have been put to the wrack,
 For first a hundred thousand pound was rais'd,
 To give the Scots, at which we were amaz'd,
 For their good service done some time before,
 This recompence they had then for their lore:
 Besides in sixteen hundred forty six,
 Just twice as much the Parliament did fix,
 And give unto them, 'cause they should deliver
 The King unto them, the like I think was never.
 Thus was the King by our dear Brother sold,
 For no less money than before was told;
 Likewise an hundred thousand pound, scarce less
 Was raisd, the Irish Rebels to suppress,
 And after that, above three thousand pound,
 Was raisd for Souldiers, which was quickly found,
 And listd were, to fight against the King,
 What think you now, was't not a goodly thing?
 The fifty subsidies, were raisd, beside
 Pole money also, which men did deride;
 And other Sums of money freely given,
 Tot set our Ships for Coals, they were so risen;
 Then did they order every one to bring
 His Plate to *Guild-Hall*: to the very Ring,
 Bodkin, and Thimble, brought to maintain the cause,
 All which was done; and that with great applause,
 And those that would this order not obey,
 The twentieth part of his Estate must pay.
 Such was the greedy Appetite of those,

Who

Who seem'd our Friends, but I think were our Foes:
 Besides all these; yet see how great vast sums,
 From every Hall and Corporation comes;
 And other places which if I should name,
 'Twould add, no glory to them, nor good fame.
 Then was there not a far more worse device
 Laid on our Backs, a thing call'd the Excise,
 For we Excise did pay for meat, and drink,
 And all things else, that they upon could think;
 Besides at *Brainford*, when there was a fight,
 We sent the Souldiers with such great delight,
 Cart-loads of victuals, with great store of Cloaths,
 With Shirts, Shoos, Hats, and many a pair of Hose,
 And mony too, by some was freely given;
 By those who thought thereby for to gain Heaven;
 All which was done, as they said, with intent,
 To bring the King unto his Parliament,
 And make him glorious, and a happy King,
 This was the cry, though they meant no such thing;
 Likewise in sixteen hundred forty three,
 The Parliament did order there should be,
 The worth in mony of a good meals meat,
 For every one that was ith house did eat,
 For half a year together it was paid,
 Oh was not this a very gallant traid?
 Likewise in sixteen hundred forty five.
 'Twas ordered also every man to give,
 A penny a week of every Family,
 For one whole year together, 'tis no lye;
 And this was sent poor *Ireland* to relieve,
 If those that order'd did not us deceive:
 Then after this they laid on us great Taxes,
 To hew us down as if it were with Axes,
 And sixty thousand pound a month, a year,
 They made us pay, as it did well appear,
 And some years ninety thousand every month was paid,
 For a whole year together undenayed;
 Besides, a hundred twenty thousand pound,
 Was paid a month by all, a whole year round,

All which to many millions doth amount,
 Far greater than the wit of man can count:
 And whosoever did not pay his Seafement,
 Was either plunder'd or prison'd without releasement,
 And by such means, some thousands are undone,
 And knew not how, or which way for to run;
 And children likewise are made fatherless,
 That knew not how their wants for to express;
 With multitudes of widows, that none knows
 The number of them, or their wants disclose.
 Besides the maimed, that want hands or feet,
 And wounded so, 'twould grieve one for to see't:
 And yet besides, the thousands that are slain,
 Which can't be numbred, for it is in vain.
 Then burning houses followed out-right,
 With castles wasted, and demolish'd quite:
 And Towns and Cities are by wars undone,
 The souldiers spoiling all that they had won:
 And every place is so impoverished,
 For want of trade, to buy the people bread.
 The Churches likewise they were much defaced,
 And made like stables, wherein horse were placed:
 They took away the vessels every one,
 And ornaments, I think they left not one.
 Thus did the Churches their privileges lose,
 And sects, and errors were brought in to choose:
 And God's true worship it was laid aside,
 And in blasphemies they did take a pride;
 And toleration of such things that's evil
 Was given them, the like did not the Devil.
 Thus have you heard the truth of things in brief,
 And yet not half, nor do I think the chief
 Of what they did; in twelve years time they say,
 But if you'll mind, the next shall tell you what.
 The first beheaded on the Tower Hill,
 Was Earl of *Strafford*, sore against his will. (14 May 1641.)
 Sir *Alexander Carew* was the second, (23 Decemb. 1641.)
 That lost his head, for so it must be reckon'd:
 And Captain *Hotham* after him succeeded, (1 Jan. 1644.)

His Father also next day after bleded.
 The Bishop then of *Cantorbury* next (2 Jan. 1644.)
 That was beheaded, after he preach'd his text. (10 Janu.
 But now my heart doth fail, the next to tell, (1644.)
 That lost his life, since which we ne're were well :
 O Gracious God, was ever such things known,
 A King so kill'd by subjects of his own. (30 Jan. 1648.)
 May that accursed act of killing Kings,
 Drink deep the dregs of the infernal stings.
 Lord *Capel* next, Duke *Hamilton* another,
 The Earl of *Holland* also was the tother :
 These three together at *Westminster* were headed, (9 March
 For being true to'th King, this Parliament did it. (1648.)
 Next Collonel *Andrews*, and then Sir *Henry Hide*, (22 Aug.
 Both on *Tower-Hill* were headed, and there dyed; (1650.)
 And Captaine *Bushe* in that very place, (4. March 1650.)
 Was headed there when he had run his race. (29 March
 Next Mr. *Love*, and *Gibbons*, in one day, (1651.)
 Were both beheaded of a truth I say; (22 Aug. 1651.)
 Loe here 14 to'th dozen in 12 years,
 Beheaded were by these sad Parliamentreers,
 Besides what others, in far remoter places,
 To us unknown who never saw their faces :
 Next you shall know, how many we have seen
 Hang'd in the City, and shot to death have been.
 First, *Challoner*, and *Tomkins*, in one day,
 Were hang'd in *London*, this is truth I say, (5 Jul. 1643.)
Tomkins at *Fetter-Lane*, tother at the *Change*,
 Thus did their madness round about us range,
 About some four months after was another,
 Hang'd at the *Change*, whose name I mean to smother, (19
 And then another, whose name I forgot, (July 1650.)
 At *Westminster* was hang'd for I know what; (28. Nov. 1643.)
 He was a Spy they said came from the King, (1 April 1644.)
 And he must suffer therefore in a string:
 The next in order, though not he himself,
 Was Sir *Johns Greenevils* picture, foolish Elfe, (1 March 1643.)
 That hanged was at the *Exchange*; for why?
 Cause he left us, and to the King did fly :

Then

Then *Poyer, Pitcher, Lockier*, went to th' pot, (29 Dec. 1648.)
 These three at severall times, to death were shot. (21 Apr. 1649.)
 All these near *London*, and near thereabout, (27 Apr. 1649.)
 Were hang'd, and shot to death, which they found out;
 Besides all others throughout the Land,
 If't could be knownen, we should amazed stand:
 They having sat twelve years, then commeth *Cromwell*,
 And turns them out; which Act, it doth please some well,
 But he his part doth play, as did the rest,
 And fals to heading, hanging, like a Beast.
 The first was *Gerard*, that did feel the smart (10 July 1654.)
 Of his keen Axe, which went unto the heart.
 Next Doctor *Huit* in that very place, (8 June 1658.)
 With *Henry Slingsby* Knight of comely grace;
 Both in one day, but who can tell for what,
 'Twas never known, nor never we shall that.
 Then Mr *Vowell* was hangd at *Charing-Cross*, (10 July 1654.)
 And *Marston* also hangd to his friends loss. (10 Aug. 1654.)
 But after all comes *Betterly* on the stage, (7 July 1658.)
 Who in *Cheapside* was hangd in *Cromwell's* rage,
 And afterward his bowels burnt in fire,
 'Cause they against him, He said, did conspire.
 And then another hang'd was in *Tower street*,
 And at the *Change* another, we did see'r. (9 July 1650.)
 These eight by *Cromwel* in the City dy'd,
 But God doth know how many more beside
 Were hangd, and headed within these three Nation's,
 Of whom I cant make any true relations.

POST.

P O S T S C R I P T.

From the 3 November 1640. to the 20 April 1653. when Oliver Cromwel turned out the long Parliament, there hath been 29 Thanks giving days for several victories obtained by them against the King : and at least 15 days of Humiliation, besides the monthly Fasts, which was once a month for very neer 8 years, being cast up together, is at least 90. which in all make 105. And from the time of their turning out, to the 25 Decemb. last 1659, there hath been 10 Fasting days and 6 Thanks-giving days, so that the total number of the Fasting days to the 25 Decemb. last is 15. and the Thanksgriving days are 35.

In the late wars hath been killed above 100 Lords and Knights. above 400 Officers, besides the common Souldiers: above 1000 Ministers put out of their places and died of grief.

F I N I S.

